

THOMAS FITZGERALD

A NEW PHASE IN ORTHODOX-ROMAN CATHOLIC RELATIONS

Having occupied the See of Rome for slightly more than one year, Pope John Paul II made an historic journey to Constantinople to meet with Patriarch Demetrios on 29-30 November 1979. The visit to the Patriarchate coincided with the celebration of the feast-day of Saint Andrew who is the patron saint of the Church of Constantinople. While in Turkey, the Pope also met with civic and other religious leaders. Upon his arrival in Ankara on 28 November, Pope John Paul II met with officials of the Turkish government. Later that same day, the Pope met with Patriarch Shnork of the Armenian Catholic community in Constantinople. Before leaving Turkey on 30 November, the Pope visited the ruins of the ancient basilica in Ephesos where the Third Ecumenical Synod was held in 431.

The journey of the Pope to Turkey was his fourth major trip outside the Vatican. Prior to his trip to Constantinople, he had visited Central America, Poland, and the United States. The trip to Turkey, however, was clearly different from previous ones. Not only was the journey undertaken specifically to permit the Pope to meet the Patriarch but also, it was the first time that John Paul II visited a country where Christians are a minority. The entire journey took place amid tight security at a time when fifty Americans were being held captive in Iran with the sanction of its Islamic government. When asked by reporters why he was going to Turkey in the face of such danger and tension in the Muslim world, the Pope responded in simple words which came to capture the spirit of the historic visit. Pope John Paul II said: "It is necessary to go there now. It is the feast of Saint Andrew. I must go for ecumenical reasons. Love is stronger than danger."¹

The visit of Pope John Paul II to Constantinople came as no surprise to those who have closely followed his words and actions. After his inaugural Mass on 22 October 1978, the Pope clearly indicated the importance which he attached to the quest for Christian unity. He said at that time that the commitment of the Catholic Church to the ecumenical movement was irreversible. He

declared: "We insist on telling you of our firm intention to go forward in the way of unity in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council and following the examples of our predecessors. A good part of the journey has already been traveled, but we must not stop before reaching the end, before having realized that unity which Christ willed for His Church and for which He prayed."²

One month before his trip to Constantinople, Pope John Paul II was in the United States. At a special ecumenical service in Washington held on 6 October 1979 in the Notre Dame Chapel, the Pope acknowledged the many ecumenical endeavors which had occurred in the United States. During his remarks, the Pope expressed the special interest in the strong relationship which exists in this country between Orthodox and Roman Catholics. He also indicated at that time that the international Orthodox-Roman Catholic Theological Commission would soon be announced. At the prayer service in which the Pope spoke, a place of honor was given to Archbishop Iakovos, Patriarchal Exarch to the Americas and Chairman of the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops. In a brief personal conversation with Archbishop Iakovos following the prayer service, the Pope not only expressed his keen interest in the Orthodox-Catholic Theological Dialogue in America but also indicated his deep concern over the conditions of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.³

Pope John Paul II arrived in Constantinople on 29 November. His visit to Turkey began the previous day in Ankara when he met with Turkish officials and also spoke to the small Catholic community of that city. Accompanied by the Turkish Prime Minister, the Pope was greeted at the airport by Patriarch Demetrios and Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Myron. The Armenian Orthodox Patriarch was also present. The Pope was accompanied by Cardinal Jean Willebrands and Cardinal Augustine Cazaroli as well as a number of other bishops and priests. No public statement was made at that time.

Following a visit to the ancient church of Haghia Sophia, Pope John Paul and his party arrived at the Ecumenical Patriarchate and attended a doxology in the church of Saint George. The Patriarch presided at the service which was attended by the members of the Holy Synod as well as by hierarchs of the Patriarchate who were in Constantinople at the time. Following the service, Patriarch Demetrios formally welcomed the Pope to the Patriarchate. The Patriarch said that the visit was of great significance because it was something more than the meeting of two local bishops.

It was also the meeting of the Church of the West and the Church of the East. In the course of the greeting, Patriarch Demetrios declared:

We believe that here in this moment, the Lord is present in our midst and the Paraclete is on us; that the two brothers, Peter and Andrew, are rejoicing with us; that the souls of our common fathers and martyrs join us and exhort us; that we have before us the expectation of the divided Christians, the anxiety of men who live without God and without Christ, the misery of a whole world of men with no recognized human rights, no freedom, no justice, no bread, no medicine, no education, no security, and no peace. Therefore, we regard the blessed presence of your Holiness here and our meeting as the will of God, as a challenge and a call from the world to which we must give an answer. It is for this reason that this praying church welcomes you in this Thanksgiving Service.⁴

The historic significance of the visit of Pope John Paul II to Constantinople was expressed in both the gestures and the words of the Pope and the Patriarch. Perhaps the most important gesture of the visit was the fact that both the Pope and the Patriarch attended the Holy Eucharist celebrated by the other. In the evening of his arrival in Constantinople, John Paul II celebrated Mass in the Roman Catholic Cathedral of the Holy Spirit. The Mass was attended by the Patriarch and two metropolitans. The Patriarch was warmly welcomed when he entered the church. During the Mass, the Pope and Patriarch exchanged the kiss of peace. On the following day, 30 November, the Pope and his entire party attended the Divine Liturgy celebrated by the Patriarch and the Holy Synod in the church of Saint George. Again, as in the previous evening, the Pope and the Patriarch exchanged the kiss of peace during the Liturgy.

The importance of these events cannot be underestimated. Not since the East-West schism has an event of comparable importance occurred. The fact that both the Pope and the Patriarch were present at the Eucharist of the other bears witness to the special relationship which already exists between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism. For both, the Holy Eucharist is the center of the life of the Church. Certainly, neither the Pope nor the Patriarch could co-celebrate with the other due to the state of the schism which exists. Nonetheless, the gesture expressed by both the Pope and the Patriarch demonstrated that each Church can recognize

the Eucharist of the other as being authentic.

Following the Divine Liturgy in the church of Saint George, gifts were exchanged between the Patriarch and the Pope. John Paul II presented the Patriarch with a replica of the icon of Our Lady of Czestochowa. The Byzantine style icon dating from the ninth century is found at the shrine of Jasna Gora in Czestochowa, Poland. This icon of the Virgin and Christ-child has special significance to the Roman Catholics of Poland. By presenting a copy of the ancient icon to the Patriarch, the Pope was indeed demonstrating that the use and veneration of icons are also accepted by the Catholic Church. Moreover, because the icon is of the Theotokos, it bore witness to the veneration of Mary, the Mother of God, which is found among both Orthodox and Roman Catholics. After accepting the icon, Patriarch Demetrios presented the Pope with an *omophorion*, an episcopal stole which signifies the office of the bishop. Such a gift is also not without significance.

The importance of the Pope's visit is also expressed in the addresses of both John Paul II and Patriarch Demetrios over the course of the two days of meetings. While the most important announcement was that which publicly established the Mixed Theological Commission, other remarks also bore witness to the importance of the historic meeting between the Patriarch and the Pope. Both spoke of the quest for Christian unity as being rooted in the will of the Lord and as being guided by the Holy Spirit. Speaking of the process of reconciliation, the Patriarch said:

It is peace and goodness that we too desire and seek, both for the Church and for the world. It is in the quest for this holy common goal that we meet. It was in this same quest that our great predecessors of holy memory met in Jerusalem, here and in Rome. It is for this goal that our two Churches have left their isolation and alienation—not to say their hostility—to take the road of encounter and reconciliation. It is for this goal that the anathemas between us have been lifted—and that, confiding in the will of the Lord, Master, and Father of Peace, who wills that we all be one (Jn 17.21), fortified with courage, patience, wisdom and hope, and dialoguing in charity, we have in a relatively short time, come a long way and have been brought to today's situation. During this journey, it is the risen Jesus who was present, traveling with us and leading us even to the breaking of bread.⁵

Following the Patriarchal Liturgy, the Pope spoke of the tragedy of division. He called upon Catholics and Orthodox to overcome the habits of isolation in order to cooperate in areas of pastoral activity "made possible by the almost total communion which already exists between us." John Paul II continued his address by calling upon both Catholics and Orthodox to boldly reassess the present relations between the Churches. He said:

We must not be afraid to reconsider on both sides, and in consultation with one another, canonical rules established when awareness of our communion—now close even if it is still incomplete—was still obscured, rules which perhaps no longer correspond to the results of the dialogue of charity and to the possibilities that we have opened up . . . It seems to me in fact that the question we must ask ourselves is not so much whether we can establish full communion, but rather, whether we still have the right to remain separate. We must ask ourselves this question in the very name of our fidelity to the will of Christ for his Church.⁶

In spite of the bold words of both the Patriarch and the Pope, there exist a number of serious issues which divide the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church. The traditional objections of Orthodoxy to Roman Catholicism must be examined and fully resolved before any action of restoring *communicatio in sacris* can be considered. The *filioque* and the papal claims are among the chief doctrinal issues which must be examined. In this regard, it is important to note that neither Patriarch nor the Pope said that reconciliation between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism would be accomplished easily. Patriarch Demetrios forcefully recognized this fact when he said:

Indeed, various obstacles stand before us. First of all, we have serious theological problems which concern the essential chapters of the Christian faith, for whose solution we are engaging in theological dialogue. But at the same time, there are obstacles coming from mistrust, irresponsibility, fear—like that of the disciples in the garden of Gethsemane—non-theological factors concerning Christian differences, intolerance and fanaticism which oppose Christians to one another and religions to one another—in a word, all the obstacles which come from the weapons of Lucifer. Moreover, it is from Lucifer that all here-

sies and divisions originate and every opposition of man to God and of man against man.⁷

Undoubtedly, the most important announcement to originate from the meeting between the Patriarch and the Pope was the public establishment of the Mixed Orthodox-Catholic Theological Commission. The announcement was made on 30 November, following the Divine Liturgy in the church of Saint George. "This dialogue," said Pope John Paul II, "will be called upon, while sharing what we have in common, to identify, confront, and resolve all the difficulties that yet prohibit us from full unity."⁸

Likewise, Patriarch Demetrios spoke of the importance of the Commission by saying that "today we are entering a new phase of our confraternization, a serious and important phase whose outcome will influence our whole journey toward the goal at which we are aiming, that is, unity."⁹ In the joint statement issued, the Patriarch and the Pope declared that the goal of theological dialogue is "not only to progress toward re-establishment of full communion between the Orthodox and Catholic sister churches but further to contribute to the many dialogues which are going on in the Christian world in quest of its unity."¹⁰

The preliminary list of members of the Mixed Theological Commission includes 23 Orthodox and 31 Roman Catholics. According to some reports, it is expected that additional members will be added to the Orthodox delegation. In the Catholic delegation, there are five cardinals, a number of archbishops and bishops, as well as other highly respected clerics and theologians. The Catholic membership appears to be the largest and the highest ranking commission established for theological dialogue. Among the members are two from the United States. These are Cardinal William Baum of Washington and Father Frederick McManus of Catholic University in Washington. Both are members of the Orthodox-Roman Catholic dialogue in the United States. Cardinal Baum has been co-chairman since 1973.

The Orthodox members of the Mixed Theological Commission are drawn from all the Patriarchal, Autocephalous, and Autonomous Churches with the exceptions thus far of the Churches of Albania, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Among the Orthodox members there are ten metropolitans and archbishops, as well as a number of other prominent bishops, priests, deacons and lay theologians. The fact that Orthodox representation is so widespread is a clear

indication of the importance which all of Orthodoxy attaches to the dialogue. Moreover, it is a firm indication that the Church of Constantinople is not alone in its desire for dialogue with the Church of Rome. Under the leadership of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, all of Orthodoxy is formally involved in the endeavor.

Regretfully, the Orthodox delegation does not include any representatives from America as yet. This omission is unfortunate for a number of reasons. The most important of which is the fact that Orthodox and Roman Catholic contact in this country has been a reality for many years. In the areas of theological studies, marriage regulations, and social issues there have been significant interaction between Orthodox and Roman Catholics at a variety of levels. Most importantly, the United States has been the site of the only local bilateral dialogue between Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologians. Inaugurated in 1965, the Dialogue is jointly sponsored by the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops as well as by the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. Undoubtedly, the international Mixed Theological Commission could benefit greatly with the addition of Orthodox members who have been involved in the local dialogue.

The establishment of the Mixed Theological Commission is an event of great significance. The Commission provides theologians of both Churches with a forum which is officially sanctioned and in which points of dogmatic similarities and difference can be discussed. In recent years, the classical issues which have divided the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Churches have been studied by theologians in an atmosphere free of rancor and shortsightedness. The Mixed Commission can now be a forum in which these recent studies can be jointly examined and discussed. Moreover, the commission will provide a most valuable opportunity for theologians of both Churches to speak to each other directly within the context of mutual understanding and trust in the Holy Spirit. Clearly, the relationship between the Orthodox Church and the Roman Church has now moved into a phase where points of difference can and must be discussed. One can only hope and pray that such a frank dialogue which is open to the actions of the Lord will diminish the tendency toward misrepresentation and misinterpretation which have occurred in the past. Finally, the Mixed Commission will provide Orthodox Theologians with a forum for conciliarity and uniformity in their dealings with Roman Catholicism. The work and cooperation of Orthodox theologians in this regard will also have a bearing upon the preparation and

inauguration of the coming Great and Holy Synod.

At the present time, Orthodoxy is engaged in three other official bilateral theological dialogues on an international level authorized by the Pan-Orthodox Conferences. These dialogues are with the Oriental Orthodox, the Anglicans, and the Old Catholics. While the Joint Theological Commission with the Roman Catholic Church is the most recent to be established, there is every reason to believe that it will be the most significant for both Churches and that its work will have a bearing upon all other ecumenical endeavors in the years ahead.

The fundamental alienation between the Church of Rome and the Orthodox Churches has had an effect upon subsequent divisions within the Christian West. Pope John Paul II recognized this fact when he said: "Our division has perhaps not been without influence on the other divisions which followed it."¹¹ As each major division in Christianity has had a bearing upon subsequent divisions, so also each serious effort at reconciliation will have a bearing upon all subsequent efforts. Undoubtedly, both the Phanar and the Vatican had this fact in mind when they established the Mixed Commission. The number of members, the high ecclesiastical rank of many as well as the broad international distribution of the members are clear signs that both the Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church have attached great significance to the Commission and its work.

The Mixed Theological Commission is the result of many years of discussion and planning between Constantinople and Rome. At the Fourth Pan-Orthodox Conference held in Rhodes in 1968, the hierarchs formally recognized the friendly relations which had been growing in recent years between the Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholics. At that time, the bishops encouraged local dialogue and called upon the local Orthodox Churches to prepare for future inter-Orthodox dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church. Nearly ten years later in 1975, formal announcement was made of preparatory committees representing both the Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholic committee met in October, 1976 and the Orthodox convened in June, 1977. Both committees met jointly from 29 March to 1 April 1978. It was this group which established the methodology and the subject of the first phase of the Mixed Theological Commission.

The recommendations of the planning committees were not made public. However, in subsequent addresses made by Cardinal Jean Willebrands, Metropolitan Meliton, and Patriarch Demetrios,

it was revealed that the first phase of the dialogue would center upon the sacramental life of the Church. It appears that the preliminary committees chose to begin the formal theological dialogue with a subject in which both Churches can find significant agreement. In some sense, the preliminary committees followed the example of the Orthodox-Roman Catholic Dialogue in the United States. The first agreed statement of this group followed its fifth meeting and was on the Holy Eucharist. Commenting upon the choice of the sacraments as the first subject to be discussed by the Joint Commission, Patriarch Demetrios has said:

We say with conviction that our theological dialogue should start and then develop on these points that we share and not on themes that divide our Churches. It is a different matter, to examine and define the theological and practical differences affecting our common doctrine on the sacraments. We acknowledge the variety which exists in this domain, often of long standing, a variety that is also called diversity and plurality. But we say without any reservation that this does not in any way harm the essence of dialogue; that, on the contrary, it builds up the unity we are seeking, and which we shall continue to seek within diversity, in the liturgical, pastoral, historical and canonical fields. Unity must not be an exact resemblance or a rigid uniformity of form and expression, but rather, an identity in faith, in teaching, in grace and in belief in Christ . . . ”¹²

There is one final dimension of the visit of Pope Paul II to Constantinople which should not be overlooked. While the visit served as a fitting opportunity to announce the establishment of the Mixed Theological Commission, it also served another important purpose. The fact that the Pope chose to journey personally to Constantinople to meet Patriarch Demetrios served to focus the attention of the world not simply upon their Joint Declaration but also upon the Patriarchate itself. Having recently left his see of Cracow, Poland, John Paul II is well aware of the difficulties which can arise between the Church and a state which is hostile to its existence. Undoubtedly, the Pope had heard of the difficulties which have only recently beset the Patriarchate. Conditions became so difficult in the past years that the Patriarch was forced to issue an official protest to the Turkish Government. It was in response to this that the Orthodox-Catholic Bilateral Consultation in the United States issued a formal statement of concern on 25 January 1978.¹³

Pope John Paul II knows well the value of a symbolic gesture. His own return to Poland in spite of government opposition is such an example. And now, he has visited Constantinople which he termed "a special historic city, rich in so many admirable Christian testimonies."¹⁴ Those of us who have had the privilege to visit the Patriarchate recently sense what the Pope must have felt. John Paul II journeyed to an undistinguished section of Istanbul, to what the Patriarch termed "our humble See." Yet, the Pope recognized it as "the first seat of the Orthodox Church."¹⁵ Undoubtedly, he found the Patriarch and the members of the Holy Synod to be men profoundly committed to Christ and his Church but laboring under conditions which are far from satisfactory. As Father N.M. Vaporis has recently said: "Today, as in no other time, the Ecumenical Patriarchate is truly ecumenical, having 'nothing of this world' to protect but only exercising its responsibilities and authority, based on the sacred canons of the Church and its history of service and contributions for the benefit of all Orthodox Christians in a truly Orthodox manner."¹⁶

During his brief stay in Turkey, the Pope did confer with members of the government. However, no public announcement was made nor statement issued regarding these conversations. Therefore, it may not be helpful to speculate whether the Pope discussed the plight of the Patriarchate and the remaining Christians in Turkey. However, in his public addresses, Pope John Paul II left no doubt that he recognizes the great heritage as well as the challenges which the Christians living in Turkey have inherited. Perhaps the most significant statement of the Pope in this regard came as he was about to leave from Ismir on 30 November after having visited the ruins of the ancient basilica of the Theotokos in Ephesos. John Paul II expressed his gratitude to the government and people of Turkey, and praised them for their social progress. He then concluded his address and his visit to Turkey with the following:

In this connection, may I be permitted to express my esteem for all the believers of this country, I have come among you before all as a religious leader, and you will easily understand that I have been particularly happy to meet in this country Christian brothers and sons who awaited my visit and these spiritual exchanges which have become in some way necessary. Their Christian communities, reduced in number but fervent, profoundly rooted in the history and love of their native

land, maintain, in respect for all, the flame of the faith, of prayer and of the charity of Christ. I cite also besides them those regions or those cities which were honored by the evangelization of the great apostles of Christ, Paul, John, Andrew, by the first Christian communities, by the great ecumenical councils. Yes, as the successor of the apostle Peter; my heart, like that of all the Christians of the world, remains very much attached to these high places to which our pilgrims continue to come with emotion and gratitude. It is your country's honor to understand it and to facilitate this hospitality.¹⁷

THE JOINT STATEMENT

We, Pope John Paul II and Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios I, thank God who has granted that we meet to celebrate together the feast of the apostle Andrew, the first called and the brother of the apostle Peter. "Praised be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has bestowed on us in Christ every spiritual blessing in the heavens" (Eph. 1:3).

It is in seeking the sole glory of God through the accomplishment of his will that we affirm anew our firm will to do all that is possible to hasten the day when full communion between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church will be reestablished and when we will finally be able to concelebrate the Divine Eucharist.

We are grateful to our predecessors, Pope Paul VI and Patriarch Athenagoras I for all they have done to reconcile our churches and to make them progress in unity.

The progress made in the preparatory stage permits us to announce that the theological dialogue is going to begin and to make public the list of members of the mixed Orthodox-Catholic commission which will be entrusted with it.

This theological dialogue has as its goal not only to progress toward the reestablishment of full communion between the Orthodox and Catholic sister Churches, but further to contribute to the many dialogues which are going on in the Christian world in quest of its unity.

The dialogue of charity (cf. Jn. 13:34; Eph. 4:1-7) rooted in a complete fidelity to the one Lord Jesus Christ and to his church (cf. Jn. 17:21), has opened the way to a better understanding of mutual theological positions and, from there, to new approaches to theological work and to a new attitude toward the common

past of our churches. This purification of the collective memory of our churches is an important fruit of the dialogue of charity and an indispensable condition of future progress. This dialogue of charity must continue and be intensified in the complex situation which we have inherited from the past and which constitutes the reality in which our effort must go on today.

We desire that progress in unity may open new possibilities for dialogue and collaboration with believers of other religions and with all men of good will, so that love and brotherhood may win over hatred and opposition between men. We hope thus to contribute to the coming of a true peace in the world. We implore this gift from him who was, who is and who is to come, Christ our only Lord and our true peace.

Phanar, on the feast of St. Andrew, 1979.

NOTES

1. *Origins* 9:26, 13 December 1979, p. 425. See also *Episkepsis* 10:211, 1 December 1979.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 427.

3. Archbishop Iakovos spoke of his meeting with the Pope at the meeting of the Orthodox-Catholic Consultation in Pittsburgh on 2-3 November 1979.

4. *Origins*, p. 425.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 417.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 416.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 417.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*, p. 418.

11. Edward Kilmartin, *Toward Reunion: The Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches*, (New York, 1979), p. 43f.

12. Cited by Kilmartin, pp. 112-13.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 97f.

14. *Origins*, p. 422.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 415.

16. Nomikos Michael Vaporis, "The Ecumenical Patriarchate Seen In The Light of Orthodox Ecclesiology and History: A Response." *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 24 (1979), 247.

17. *Origins*, p. 248.

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REVIEWS

And Taking Bread . . . Cerularius and the Azyme Controversy of 1054. By Mahlon H. Smith III. (Théologie Historique, no. 47) Paris: Editions Beauchesne, 1978. Pp. 188. Cloth \$20.00; paper \$15.00 from Beauchesne-America, South Bend, Indiana.

The Schism of July, 1054 has received much attention from ecclesiastical historians. The traditional scenario traced the ecclesiastical rupture between the Churches of Rome and Constantinople to the ambitious and narrow-minded behavior of the Patriarch Michael Keroularios and Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida. More recently scholars have come to question the significance of both the events and issues of the schism, maintaining that it was merely a personal conflict between two immoderate churchmen, but one minor event in a long process of schism beginning sometime in the fourth or fifth centuries and running to its completion with the Fourth Crusade (1204). Ecumenically, the schism has been interpreted as an unfortunate misunderstanding!

And Taking Bread maintains in part the traditional approach; the issues, particularly the propriety of the use of *azyma* in the Eucharist, were substantive and rooted in the different development in the Eastern and Western Churches. Smith veers from the traditional scenario in emphasizing that Keroularios was not the source of the arguments against the azymes; Keroularios merely represented the Orthodox theological and liturgical tradition, reflected in the contemporary works of Leo of Ochrida, Peter of Antioch, and Niketas Stethatos. The azymite-prozymite conflict had been well-defined before Keroularios took it up as the centerpiece of his opposition to Humbert. The value of Smith's work is the distinction he draws between the ecclesiastical events of 1054 and the theological issue of the azymes.

Smith understands the issue of the azymes as extremely important to eleventh century churchmen for whom the liturgy was central. It is this centrality of worship which is the greatest difficulty for modern historical understanding of the events and issues. Whatever the proximate causes of the conflict, the issues around which it focused were real and, as Smith concludes, the stake in the conflict was "the question of the proper Christian perspective on the whole of human history" (p.170).

Smith maintains that the azyme conflict took place primarily on the level of the historical setting of the first Eucharist (p. 30); the *Urzeit* of any religious practice is essential to understanding that practice! Although he emphasizes the primacy of the historical argument to all involved, he notes that the Orthodox were not concerned solely with historical and linguistic aspects; the issue was also christological. The azymes were not "true bread"! Only true bread (*artos*) could adequately represent the humanity of Christ in the Eucharist. It was not by accident that the Byzantines noted the use of azymes among the Armenians and Jacobites as a result of their deficient christology. The Latins in the anti-azymite tracts were Judaizers and crypto-Apollinarians.

In the Orthodox reaction to the Latins is embodied the sum of several centuries of christological struggle. Humbert had no understanding of this level of the argument. Smith includes two appendices which clarify the Orthodox side of the conflict: 1) an outline of the arguments of each of the main Orthodox sources, and 2) a vertical flow chart of the Byzantine Orthodox opposition to azymes between the fourth and eleventh centuries.

This reviewer has few and minor objections to this book. The structure of Smith's presentation is often difficult to follow; the general flow of the argument often gets lost in the details of his investigation. There is no historical structure in which to fit some of the events and the reader is not informed until page 91 of the year of Keroularios' accession to the patriarchate. Unfortunately, Smith includes no history of the use of leavened and unleavened breads in the Eastern and Western eucharistic celebrations. He offers only one note (pp. 48-49) in which he presents the opinions of Alexander of Hales on the origins of the practices. Although the Orthodox made frequent reference to the prohibitions of the Apostolic Canons and the canons of the Council in Trullo, Smith makes no note of the fact that both of these canonical collections were only partially received in the west. In addition, there are misleading renderings of several Greek passages. For instance, in one location *ousia* is translated as "being," which is at best weak, and *hypostasis* as "substance," which, while etymologically correct, is unacceptable after the fourth century in Byzantine theological tradition where it takes on the meaning "person" (p. 43, n. 42 and 68, n.121). Finally, the bibliography is weak on modern Orthodox literature; Orthodox scholars are quoted, for instance, only from their more popular works. There is no reference to the excellent study of John Erickson in *St. Vladimir's Quarterly* on the same subject.

Smith makes his point that the issue of the azymes was substantive and not the ruse of an ambitious patriarch. The conflict was not a misunderstanding. It was the head-on collision of two different interpretations of the new covenant. Smith has done an excellent and thorough job of presenting the theological issues surrounding the azymite-prozymite controversy of the eleventh century. The author has done all this while avoiding any hint of polemicism. None of this reviewer's minor objections should detract from the value of this work for the Orthodox scholar.

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Moses Khorenats'i. History of the Armenians. Translation and Commentary by Robert W. Thomson. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1978. Pp. 400. Hardcover, \$22.50.

This is a new presentation of a 'classic' of ancient Armenian literature, which tells the story of the Armenian nation from its legendary origins down

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and Bowerstock, in two different ways, provide us with the opportunity to review the aims and achievements of two determined Roman emperors, who, with Constantinople as their capital city, had different visions of a universal Roman empire—one Christian, one pagan—but actually confirmed, through their actions, the emergence and viability of an Orthodox Christian Byzantine Empire.

John E. Rexine
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Byzantium and the Papacy 1198-1400. By Joseph Gill, S.J. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1979. Pp. xii + 342. \$23.50.

This scholarly tome should be of interest to students of medieval history of both the Greek East and the Latin West, to Church historians and theologians, as well as to anyone interested in religious studies and ecumenical relations. In twelve compact chapters the well known author of *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959) and *Personalities of the Council of Florence* (Oxford, 1964), examines the outstanding events of more than two centuries as they affected the contacts of the two Churches. Though he writes as an historian, Father Gill analyzes important theological issues with clarity and conviction. His work is a balanced and scholarly treatment of a complex and difficult historical period. As one would have expected, the negotiations about the union of the two Churches are examined in the context of political events, of the social and cultural background of the two worlds of medieval Christendom.

The 'Great Schism' of 1054 between Western and Eastern Christendom, and the disastrous Fourth Crusade, which made that schism real, did not prevent the two worlds of Christendom from seeking ecclesiastical union. Father Gill demonstrates that both the Greek and Latin Churches seriously desired the union. But then what was the main reason for the failure of each unionist effort? "The root reason was the ecclesiology of the medieval Latin Church," he writes. As far as the Latin Church was concerned "there could be only one church with one faith and one supreme authority. That faith was the bond of unity of the whole Christian community and the one authority was that of the keeper of the faith, the pope." Thus the Greeks who did not accept that ecclesiology "were called 'schismatics' and 'heretics' . . . they were not of the one Church outside of which there is no salvation" (p. 245).

On the other hand "the Greek opposition to union in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was not a sudden upsurge of anti-Latin sentiment. It was the consequence, heightened by political circumstances of divergent outlook and development that dated from the earliest centuries of the Church's life" (p. 250). These are important acknowledgments coming from the pen

of a leading historian of the period. Father Gill relies extensively on primary sources, especially those in the papal archives, and achieves an objective and balanced treatment of his subject. The book is highly recommended.

ΟΙ ΡΩΣΟΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟΛΑΤΡΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΟΡΟΥΣ. By Konstantinos K. Papoulides. Thessalonike: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1977. Pp. 222 with eight plates.

During the first quarter of this century the monastic communities of Mount Athos were disturbed by the teachings of a group of Russian monks who called themselves 'Glorifiers of the Name' (*Onomatodoxoi*, from the Russian *Imjaslavcy*), but who were characterized by their opponents and critics as the 'Name-Worshippers' (*Onomatolatrai*, from the Russian *Imjabozniki*). The central teaching of this monastic movement, which originated in Russia and established itself on Mt. Athos, was that the power of God is present in the invocation of the name of Jesus. God is present in His name for no name can be separated from its possessor. Thus constant invocation of God's name leads to salvation.

The movement involved not only the Russian Church and the Ecumenical Patriarchate, but also the Tsarist government. It also attracted the attention of the Roman Catholic circles of Constantinople and eventually influenced major Russian thinkers such as Paul Florenskii, Sergius Bulgakov, Nicholas Berdiaev, and others. But the 'Name-Worshippers' were condemned by both the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Holy Synod of Moscow. Following a series of exchanges between the proponents of this teaching and the Russian Church as well as the Ecumenical Patriarchate, eventually 833 *Onomatolatrai* were forcibly deported from Mount Athos to Russia on two warships. The intervention of the Tsarist government even caused a battle between the Russian sailors and the monks at the Saint Panteleemon Monastery, the Russian monastery on Mount Athos.

The author of the present book provides an excellent account of the background, the genesis, as well as growth of the movement on Mount Athos. He believes that it was a Russian movement in origin, spirit, and structure, even though he discerns a certain affinity with fourteenth-century Hesychasm. Dr. Papoulides is interested much more with the history than the theology of the movement. His treatment of doctrinal, canonical, or diplomatic issues is peripheral but adequate for an understanding of the whole problem. He writes objectively, dispassionately, detached, and with a thorough knowledge of the issues involved. His research is based on Greek and Russian sources, including a great deal of archival material.

In addition to a well documented historical survey (pp. 11-76), the book includes a section with unpublished documents (pp. 79-114), and the work of the Hieromonk Antonios Bulatovic, *He Doxa tou Theou einai ho Iesous* (The

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**CAPTIVITY AND DIALOGUE:
GREGORY PALAMAS (1296-1360) AND THE MUSLIMS**

In the beginning of 1354 Gregory Palamas (1296-1360), Archbishop of Thessalonike and the principal spokesman for the hesychasts,¹ the mystical movement flourishing then especially in the monastic republic of Mount Athos, was sailing from Thessalonike to the Byzantine capital of Constantinople. The purpose of this trip was to bring about a reconciliation between the young self-exiled heir to the throne John V Palaiologos (1341-1391) and the Grand Domestic John Kantakouzenos, who, upon the death of Andronikos III Palaiologos in 1341 had proclaimed himself emperor – an event that sparked even another civil war in the fourteenth century Byzantium. The trip was undertaken at the request of John Palaiologos² and his mother, Empress Ann of Savoy, who although fully aware of Palamas' sympathy towards Kantakouzenos, was nevertheless respectful of his integrity, theological soundness, and statesmanship.

The first stop of the journey on a royal boat, was at the island of Tenedos in the Aegean at the mouth of the straits of the Dardalles, a stop-over for Palamas to receive further instructions on his assignment. Up to this point the trip progressed with no interruptions. Leaving Tenedos, however, on another boat the travellers met with a fierce storm which forced the captain to seek refuge at a place near the city of Kallipolis (Gallipoli) on the European side of the straits. Kallipolis had just suffered from a severe earthquake which had left it almost in ruins and without defense. In such a condition the city was captured by the Osmanli Turks, from the Asiatic side of the straits.³ The boat, unable to leave Kallipolis, was taken over by the Turks who demanded ransom money for the release of its passengers. With communication with the imperial court impaired, the ransom price continuously raised as the prominence of Palamas was becoming known, and with the ransom money coming from nowhere, a long captivity began, which was to take Palamas and his companions through a number of cities of northwestern Asia Minor, or Anatolia. Palamas' captivity lasted for over a year, from March 1354 to July 1355.

The events which led to his captivity, his journey through the newly conquered Christian cities, his contacts with the Christian

population, his impression of his Turkish captors and his debates with Muslims on matters of religion, Palamas himself describes in a rather lengthy letter, of pastoral character, to the Christians of his archdiocese. The credit of drawing attention and making the first analysis of its historical content belongs to G. Georgiades Arnakis.⁴ The letter, although in manuscript and printed form, had by-passed the attention even of such a careful student of Palamas as Gregory Papamichael. The earliest evidence of such a letter is Philotheos himself, although the text seems to have been deleted from Migne's edition of the *Encomion*.⁵

The text of Palamas' letter to the Thessalonians is found in three manuscripts:

1. The Athonite MS of St. Panteleimon Monastery, No. 215. This was copied by A. Adamantios on 3 August 1895 at the instruction of Spyros Lambros, who verified the accuracy of the manuscript. This transcript was prefaced and published by K. Dyovouniotes in the Greek journal *Neos Hellenomnemon* (Athens) 16 (1922) 7-21. It is this text which we are offering here in translation.
2. Codex No. 1379 of the National Library of Athens. The letter is between the leaves 408b-415b, according to the information of A. I. Sakkelion.⁶
3. Codex No. 2409 of the National Library of Paris, which is mentioned by M. Treu.⁷

A fourth manuscript edition seems to be that of the Parisian Codex Coislin Nos. 97 and 98.⁸ To our knowledge there has been no critical edition of the text and this is the first translation of the letter in its entirety. There has been also no serious challenge to the authenticity of the letter. An exception has been M. Jugie who left the question open,⁹ but prior to Arnakis' studies and the subsequent debates, all treating the text as authentic.

The exact date of the letter is not established. The titles in the two first MSS suggest that Palamas *sent* the letter to his church from Asia while he was captive there. However the title of the letter in the Parisian MS indicates that Palamas *wrote* the letter while captive in Asia. It seems most likely that Palamas wrote the letter during the last part of his captivity in Nicaea in July 1355, as he himself states,¹⁰ or even in Constantinople after his release during the same year. This is attested also by the fact that the letter refers to Palamas' debate with the Chiones, which took place just prior to his transfer to Nicaea. This debate has been recorded and chronicled

by the physician Taronites as having taken place “in the month of July, on the eighth indiction of the year 1363”¹¹ (i.e. 1355). Secondly the wording of the letter seems to suggest that the captivity had ended when the letter was being written.¹² Thirdly it seems logical to assume that such a long letter, containing very negative and at times very derogatory expressions against the Turks and their religion, would not have been allowed to leave Anatolia, or would not have reached Thessalonike safely. Thus it seems that, although Palamas wrote the letter during the last days of a relatively easy captivity in Nicaea—a phase which he describes in more detail—he sent it to Thessalonike after he was released from the captivity and he had arrived in Constantinople, an event which took place in the summer of the same year 1355.

Prior to his transfer to Nicaea, Palamas was engaged in an inter-faith dialogue with Emir Orkhan’s own “wise and reputable men” on matters of religion, who are identified as “Chiones.” Who are these Chiones is not clear from Palamas’ letter. G. G. Arnakis and Paul Wittek have debated the question in a series of articles.¹³ From the context of the debate, recorded by Taronites who was an eye and ear witness, we gather that the Chiones were former Jews converted to Islam, perhaps Greek-speaking, eager to please Orkhan and very anxious to conceal their possible ignorance or incompetence on matters of the Islamic faith! The text of this debate, or *Dialexis*, has been published by A.I. Sakkelion from a seventeenth century MS of the National Library of Athens (no.1379, fol.415b-18a, following the text of Palamas’ letter to the Thessalonians).¹⁴

The text of the letter and that of the *Dialexis* form together a unit which is our main source of Palamas’ experience of the Turkish captivity. Chronologically both texts belong to the same year (1355) and possibly to the same month, the letter being written after the *Dialexis*. Although the latter did not come out of the hand of the archbishop, it contains definitely his thoughts and his actions. For the sequence of the events, the progression of Palamas’ experience of the Turks and his acquaintance with Islam, we have inserted the *Dialexis* at the point of its historical occurrence as it is indicated in the letter. Here are the texts:

By the same¹

Letter Which He Sent to His Church From Asia While Captive

The humble Metropolitan of Thessalonike, to all those who are to me, the humble one, beloved children and brethren in the Holy

Spirit; as well as to their Graces the Bishops and the ecclesiastical officials and through them to everyone, and particularly to those of you who want to know about us, may mercy eternal from God, grace and peace be abundant upon you.

God's judgement—I mean His providence for us—is abysmal, as we have been taught also by David, the revealer of God, that the height or depth of His wisdom is inscrutable.² However, there are those who out of, let us say, weak mind as if becoming dizzy in such things, and spinning around and falling down badly, either reject the notion of providence disrespectfully or they reprove uncritically the life of those who suffer or they wickedly mistake virtue and even faith itself as empty and silly. He, however, who is of sound mind, the more he observes that abyss and height and reaches the point of contemplation, the more he talks about it and marvels at, along with the invisible, the visible. I will narrate therefore to your love what I have perceived to be of the providence of God, when I was led to Asia through captivity, seeing the Christians and the Turks mixing with each other, going about their lives, leading and being led by each other. For it seems to me that it is through this dispensation that the truth about our Lord Jesus Christ, the God over all, became manifest even to those most barbaric among the barbarians, so that they may be without excuse in front of His most fearful tribunal in the age to come, which is already at hand. It is because of such a dispensation, as one can gather from the events, that we also were delivered unto their hands, as a small expiation for our many sins committed against God—a kind of fire, extinguishable though, to which those who are now tried are delivered; while those who inflict insults, if they happen not to repent for their unbelief and their brutality, are to be kept in a fire which is never to be extinguished. And even if I had lost almost completely interest in the diligence of writing—something which I have overlooked for such a long time—I could never have found a more worthwhile subject, befitting to me the most and not least demanding description, than what happened to me lately. In this respect it should be my task to go through our acts, and the acts of those in power towards us.

Thus, up to Tenedos I travelled on the imperial trireme.³ From there on, while journeying through Bithynia and Mesothynia, I missed nothing of what was happening in Constantinople, either on the land or in the sea, including those things from above (I do not know whether I should call them chastisements or abandon-

ments) which our nation suffered, and especially the earthquake which left not only buildings and properties, but also bodies and lives, in the words of the poet,⁴ “prey to dogs” and to all kinds of vultures, human and non-human. But let me not bypass everything and cause disappointment, but describe for those of you who wish to know, a few of my experiences.

A few days after that earthquake we embarked on an eight-hundred-medimni⁵ ship from Tenedos; would that had never happened. As we encountered a strong wind and as the captain was deeply in debt, or rather stupefied and from then on against saving the ship, we sailed at once up to a point off Kallipolis.⁶ Then the wind, turned and it was not hitting the prow. However, we did not give way, but set ourselves against it, rather than being carried away by the attacking force, and all this during night and wintry time. As we were in imminent danger as soon as we managed finally to come to one accord with each other, and with the courage and the undertakings of the good captain, we hit the stern. Giving in to the force of the wind—a forceful north wind—we let ourselves be carried back to Kallipolis. However, since that earthquake had placed that city, too, under the Achaimenidae,⁷ whom we now call Turks, and it was impossible for us to moor at its port, we brought the ship to a halt somewhere at a nearby shore, by casting all its anchors. At daybreak, the north wind not being any milder, we saw the Turks on the ground and in the sea going back and forth in contingents and a number of them rowing speedily as if they were binding together the two opposite continents and rushing from the eastern continent to pillage the Romans living on the opposite side. Being therefore aware of all these things, we all begged the captain to bring us back to Tenedos so that we might not, by delaying, fall badly into the hands of the Turks. As he was not convinced, we all offered him gifts and promised him big remunerations; we, the unfortunate ones, who under these circumstances were in need of a captain, and who allowed ourselves, mistakenly, to such a plunder. We even showed him how imminent and inevitable the danger was should, indeed, the strong wind force us to stay there anchored, tossing us to and fro! He, however remained unconvinced, puffing at the expected enemy. Finally the wind subsided, but the barbarians attacked the boat, fully armed and with big rather than small boats. Having given a fight (on what do I need to expatiate?), we were badly defeated and taken captives; and we were not a small number.

First, we all were led together to Lampsakos.⁸ Immediately, and from then on, I shared every consequence of the captivity with my fellow captives, such as exposure, lack of necessities, intestinal disorders, emaciation of the body as a result of them, and almost paralysis of the members. There was, on the other hand, quite a protest raised among the local Romans⁹ to the barbarians, supposedly in my favor, praising highly my education and virtues and bringing forth my struggles, as they said, for the Church. Such things were exaggerated, although not falsely, as only I am in a position to know better, and in no way were they profitable to me. Because the hope thence got into the mind of the ruler of the barbarians to gain money from me in thousands. Thus he instigated those who adhere to the barbaric faith¹⁰ to become enraged against me and even some of them to molest me and pick an argument and, if they prove weak in all other respects, to use our captivity as a proof of the ineffectiveness of our faith.

Thus they—this impious and god-hated and all-abominable race—boast that they dominate the Romans on account of their own faith in God. They ignore that this world rests in evil and that evil men and servants of this low world are those who dominate the greatest part of it, who dislodge their neighbors by force and with weapons. That is why the idolaters dominated almost the entire universe for the entire time up to Constantine, the truly God-loving king. And again since then—a long time in between—they [the Turks] are little, if any, different from those previous ones [i.e. the idolaters]. It seems to me therefore that these, too, who boast of their evil deeds will suffer the same as the pagans. They, says the apostle, “will be given up to a base mind . . . for although they knew God they did not honor him or respect him as God.”¹¹ They, too, although they knew Christ—for they confess that he is word and spirit of God, and also that he was born from a virgin, and that he did and taught like God, that he ascended into heaven, that he remains immortal, and that he is going to come to judge the entire world—although, therefore, they knew Christ this way, they did not honor him as Christ, that is as God-man Word. Instead, they exchanged the truth for falsehood and they believed, honored and followed a mere man, mortal and buried, Muhammad that is, rather than the God-man, the ever-living and eternal Word. Who, although he tasted death in flesh, yet he did so in order to abolish death, and become ruler of the eternal and inviolate life, a life which the passion, death and resurrection of a mere man could never provide. Thus all those

who rose from the dead lived the mortal and our kind of life, and died again. "Death," however, once Christ rose from the dead, "no longer has dominion over him";¹² on the contrary, the future and everlasting life is made known beforehand [through him].

Since, therefore, knowing who Christ was they did not glorify nor did they worship him as Christ, "God gave them up to a base mind,"¹³ to passions and dishonorable deeds. As a result they live a reproachful, inhuman, and God-hated life—like that of the son Esau, hated by God and cast out of his father's blessing—to live a prodigal life in swords and knives, indulging in slavery, murder, plundering, rape, licentiousness, adultery, and homosexuality. Not only are they doing such things, but—what a madness!—they even believe that God gives them His consent. This is my impression of them, now that I know their ways better.

You should remember also that we were frequently surrounded by a crowd of men and women; some of them wanting to tell us about their own lives and be cured of their spiritual afflictions; others to find answers to questions on matters of faith, most of them wondering why God had abandoned our nation so much; and some others to cry out their sympathy for my misfortune. Thus, having stayed there for seven days—being on the seventh day afflicted by the barbarians in order to raise our ransom—on the eighth day we took up the road leading to Pegai. Even if I wanted to tell you the sufferings of this journey in detail, neither the ink nor the paper that I have now available would be enough. At any rate, in three days they led us to Pegai. First of all they let us, utterly exhausted from the walk and from what they did to us during the journey, spend two days in the open, even though it was icy cold. Then they took me and the monks separately, and threatened us with threats that are unbearable even to hear, forcing us to raise the amount of our ransom. As they did not succeed—for my entire property, as one can find many who know this, consists only of what I need every day—as, therefore, they did not succeed in securing what they demanded, they did not carry out their threats. Instead, they led us to a church of Christ, which still survives by His power praising Him out loud, which we felt as a peaceful harbor after those many storms of all sorts. For there were monks and lay people living about the church—pleasant harbors on the opposite side for those who were ending up there from captivity—from whom we, too, received not a small comfort.¹⁴ I, therefore, with all the others who were with me, was offered hospitality by Mavro-

zoumis, who was different from all the rest in kindness. He was an heteriarch.¹⁵ He gave us shelter, and since we were naked he clothed us, and hungry he gave us food, being thirsty he gave us drink. He actually nourished us for almost three months. Moreover, he delivered us from the company of the barbarians, he comforted us and made it possible for us to teach in Church according to our practice, and to provide spiritual relief to the indigenous Christians and to those who as captives were gathered there.

After three months had passed, as I just mentioned, we were taken up from there by lawless hands and led to Prusa¹⁶ in four days. Here those Christians who differed in prudence, while associating with us were touching upon more serious matters; and that under unfavorable circumstances, for the barbarians were all around us. And, those who exerted themselves in piety disregarded such unfavorable time, for they thought that they unexpectedly had in front of them the man who could tell them about the things they wanted to know. After two days had passed, accompanied by those who had led us to Prusa, we arrived, again in two days, at a hilly village surrounded at a distance by mountains and beautified by thick shade trees. Winds blowing continuously, now from the one now from the other side of the mountain ridges, give it a very cool draught, and the air all around is cold even during the summer which made the supreme ruler of the barbarians spend the summer in that place.

When the other captives and I arrived there was sent to us a grandson of the great Emir. He invited me apart from the rest of the captives, and he sat down with me on the soft grass with a few leaders surrounding him. After we sat down they brought to me fruits and to him meat. At his signal we began eating, myself the fruits and he the meat. As we were eating he asked me if I ever eat any meat and for what reason.¹⁷ As soon as I gave the proper answer to the question, somebody came in from outside apologizing for his tardiness. "Only now" he said "was I able to finish the distribution of alms which the great Emir has ordered to take place every Friday." Thence we began a long discussion on almsgiving. "Do you also practice almsgiving?" asked Ishmael; that was the name of the grandson of the great Emir. I said to him that the true almsgiving is the one which derives from the love towards the true God, and that the more one loves God, the more and truly benevolent he is. Then he asked me again whether we also accept and love their prophet Muhammad. When I answered in the negative, he asked for the reason. I offered a sufficient defense on this matter

also, as it was appropriate to the interlocutor who did not believe in the teaching of the Teacher,¹⁸ and who said that one should not love the Teacher as teacher. "But," he said, "on the one hand you love Isa¹⁹ (this is how he called the Christ), and on the other hand you believe that he was crucified!" I agreed with this assertion and bringing forth the matter of the voluntary character, the way and the glory of the passion, and the matter of the impassibility of the divine nature, I explained with a few words what he thought to be a contradiction. As I did this he asked me again, "Why do you venerate the wood and the cross?" I gave him to this also the response which God had provided, adding "Would you not accept those who would honor your insignia, and punish severely those who would dishonor them; Christ's banner of victory and His sign are the cross." He, however, wanted to ridicule further and defame our beliefs as inappropriate, and said, "At any rate, you believe that God has had a wife, for you proclaim that He gave birth to a son." Then I said to him again, "The Turks say that Christ is the word of God,²⁰ and that he was born from the virgin Mary,²¹ whom we glorify as Theotokos. Therefore, if Mary, who gave birth to Christ insofar as the flesh is concerned, did not have a husband, nor did she need one—since she gave birth, physically, to the Word of God—much more it is so with God, Who, in giving birth to His own word, incorporeally (being Himself incorporeal) and in a God-like manner, has had no wife, nor did He need any, as you wrongly presume." Well, he did not dispose himself angrily against this either, although, those who know him say that originally he was unrelenting and enraging against the Christians. To those last words a heavy rainstorm began, and he got up and left running, while I returned to where the captives were, suffering the rain with them in the open air. When the rain had stopped and the day was coming to a close, late in the evening our captors brought us all before the presence of the ruler.

At his command we were then led to the neighboring town which had been inhabited by Roman Christians for a long time, in which there was also a residence for the royal ambassadors. Thus, we were meeting with them²² day after day, receiving from them provisions and some consolation; and neither did the roughness and the severe cold weather of the place, nor the constant need of necessary goods for those in my company who were sick, succeed to succumb the good will of those men. When once the Emir suffered from a liver trouble, there arrived called for that purpose, the good man Taro-

nites, a most God-loving and pious doctor who did everything for me and who, when he saw that it would be profitable for me spiritually and physically to be transferred to Nicaea, made every effort to convince the Emir [to let me go]. He asked him about me saying, "Who and what kind of man is this monk?" And when he answered whatever he answered, the Emir said, I, too, have wise and reputable men to engage in a dialogue with him." He, then, sent immediately to call the Chiones; men who, taught by the Satan, had studied nothing else but blasphemies and shameful things towards our Lord Jesus, the Christ, the Son of God. When they were there, Taronites, who was an eye and ear-witness, kept written notes of everything that was spoken and done which he has circulated; and anyone who wants may go through and know about.

By the Same GREGORY OF THESSALONIKE
To the Atheist Chiones
An Exchange Written by, and Taken Place in the Presence of,
Taronites the Doctor, an Ear-witness

There came the Chiones, "by the command of the Emir," they said, "to converse with the metropolitan of Thessalonike." They were afraid, however, to start a controversy in front of him and first of all they tried to convince me, the bishop and especially the associates of the Emir, that no confrontation may take place on such matters. Being unable to achieve this, they tried again to convince us that at least such a debate may not take place in front of the Emir; which they succeeded. And he [the Emir] appointed a number of officials and a certain so-called Palapanes.²³ These men came along with the Chiones to the place where the metropolitan was. Thus we sat all together and the Chiones began a long talk. The main point of their talk was that "We were taught ten commandments which Moses brought down, written on slates of stone. We also knew that the Turks hold the same ones. We left, therefore, the faith which we had before, came to them and became Turks too."

The officials then asked the Metropolitan to respond, and he began with these words: "I should not respond now, because who am I, compared to the height and greatness of the catholic and apostolic Church of my Christ, to try to defend her? I am only a minimal part of her and almost nothing at all. Secondly, these officials, who

are also sitting as judges, support the side of the opponents and it is not appropriate for me to show in what they will respond the justifications of faith, which are the God-inspired Scripture and especially the books of the Prophets. Thirdly, I am kept in captivity, and I know after the example of the Lord, God and Savior of ours, Jesus Christ, that after being convicted, even when asked questions, he did not give answers. However, since this is what the great Emir orders—and I perceive that God gave him the right to know what a ruler has to know; because while the duty of the servant or of any common individual is to know about one faith and this only barely, it is necessary for him who has many races under his rule to know of all faiths and in an accurate way—for this reason I want to talk about our faith, all that the word of God will provide for me as I will open my mouth, And in doing so I will not be responding to the Chiones. For they, from what I heard about them before and from what they are now saying, seem to be Jews, not Muslims;²⁴ and my talk now is not to the Jews.

Thus, this mystery of our faith goes like this: Only God is the eternal Being and the One who remains for ever, without beginning, unchangeable, without end, immutable, uncompound, unconfused, unlimited. Every creature, however, is subject to corruption and change. Even the beginning itself is a change which came into being from non-existence. This God, therefore, the only one without a beginning, is not without wisdom. Thus the word of God is also the wisdom of God; for wisdom is in the word and without word wisdom does not exist.

Therefore if there were ever a time when the word or the wisdom of God did not exist, God would then be without word and without wisdom, which is a blasphemy and something impossible. Thus the word of God also is without beginning and the wisdom of God is never separated from Him. Also there is no word ever without spirit, something you, too, Turks confess. For by saying that Christ is the Word of God, you confess him also to be the Spirit of God, for this [the word] is never separated from the divine spirit. Thus God has both, word and spirit, which are with Him and in Him without beginning and without separation. God was never, nor will He ever be, without Spirit or word. Therefore, all three are one, and one the three.

God has word and spirit not in the manner we have them, vanishing in the air, but in a divine manner. To use an example: as the splendor of the sun is born from it, and the ray of the sun proceeds

from it and comes down to us and never, neither the splendor, nor the ray, are they separated from the disc—for which reason when we call them “sun” we do not say that each one of them is different from the one—in the same way when we say that the Word of God, and the Holy Spirit too, is God, we do not confess another God but only the One who is perceived to be without beginning and without end, with a co-eternal word and spirit. This is what the Word of God taught us to believe and confess; not only Christ but Moses also in the Decalogue, whom you, the Chiones, bring forth. That is why he said “God is one” and he said the “one” three times. For he said the word “Lord” twice and the word “God” once to show that the three are one and the one three. Also Moses, wanting to show from the beginning that God has word and spirit and that in them and with them He is one God creator of all created things said “God said: ‘Let it be light’; and there was light.”²⁶ . . . He said, ‘Let the earth put forth vegetation’ . . . And it was so.”²⁷ And so that I may not repeat everything, as David said, “God said and everything was made.”²⁸ Therefore this “God said and everything was made” shows that God has word, for there is no speech without word. It also shows that all the created things were made by the means of it. Thus this word of God existed prior to all created things and he was uncreated. The word of God, being uncreated, how is he not God since only God is uncreated? Moses, teaching also about man says: “God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living being.”²⁹ Therefore, by saying that God breathed and that is how the living man was made, he shows that God has also spirit and that this spirit is creative. But only God is creator of living beings. That is why Job says: “It is the spirit of God that made me.”³⁰

The bishop of Thessalonike³¹ wanted also to string together the rest of the evidence from the prophets and especially those through which it is shown that God works the renewal of man and of the entire world by means of His spirit; such as what David says “He sent forth his word, and healed them, and delivered them from destruction”³² and elsewhere again “Thou shalt send forth thy Spirit, and they shall be created; and thou shalt renew the face of the earth.”³³ These are the quotations which the bishop had started already stating, when all those attending interrupted him saying “What you are saying is true and cannot be otherwise.” Then the bishop responded to them “God, therefore, these three, is one God, creator.” And they, either moved by the divine power to do so or because they were unable to object, agreed again say-

ing: "This is what you have shown and this is the truth. This is what we also maintain." The bishop said: "Good. Glory be to our God who has willed so." But they, too, said again: "But tell us this, how do you confess Christ to be God since he was a human and was born as human?" Again the bishop, "God is not only sovereign and all-mighty, but righteous as well, as David the prophet says: 'The Lord our God is righteous, and loves righteousness; there is no injustice in him.'³⁴ There is no work of God, therefore, that does not have in it the righteousness of God. As the ray of the sun has also the life-giving power, as well as light and warmth, so does the divine energy have in itself the divine power and the righteousness. God created man to do good deeds and commanded him to live according to His own divine will. When, therefore, this man obeyed and submitted himself to the devil willingly, and he sinned by transgressing the divine will and he was, justly, sentenced to death, it was not congenial to God to redeem man from him [the devil] by force; that way He would have been unjust to the devil, to have pulled out from his hands by force man whom he did not get by force. Also the free will of man would have been destroyed by the force and the power, as God would have been freeing man; and it is not like God to destroy His own work. It was, therefore, necessary that a sinless man be made, who would be without sin and who would live without sin and who, this way, would help the man who had sinned willingly. For it says: "Not even one is without sin; if even his life should be but one day."³⁵ David also the prophet says: "I was conceived in iniquities, and in sins did my mother conceive me."³⁶

For this reason the only sinless Word of God becomes a son of man, is born from a virgin, is witnessed to with the voice of the Father from heaven, is tempted and fought by the devil, defeats the tempter, shows and confirms through deeds, words and great miracles the faith and the conduct of salvation and, in this way, He who was innocent and sinless, by living (as a human) he takes up to himself the passions of us who were the responsible ones, even to the extent of death, so that He may descend also to Hades and save those in there who may believe.

At this point—as the bishop talked about the resurrection and the ascension of the Lord and of the testimonies of the prophets which show that Christ is also God and that this God is the one who is witnessed to as having become man from the virgin and suffered for us and risen, and everything else—the Turks became disturbed, and they interrupted him saying, "How can you say that

God was born and that the womb of a woman contained him, and many such things? God only said and Christ, too, was made.”³⁷ He then said to them, “God is not a big body that cannot fit because of its size into something small. On the contrary, by being incorporeal He is able to be everywhere, beyond everything and in one single thing. He can fit even into the smallest possible thing that one can imagine.” They, however, protested again noisily, saying that “God only said and Christ, too, was made.” The bishop said again: “You confess that Christ is the word of God. A word, then, is made again by another word? In such a case it will mean that the word of God is not co-eternal with God Himself. But I showed you this at the beginning and you, too, confessed that God has a Word and a Spirit co-eternal with Him. That is why you call Christ not only word but also spirit of God. God said and things were made, like this stone—pointing to a stone nearby—the herb and even the reptiles. Therefore, if Christ is the word and spirit of God because he was made by the word of God, then the stone, the herb and everyone of the reptiles is also word and spirit of God because in their case also He said and they were made! You see how absurd it is to say that “God said and Christ, too, was made”? The pre-eternal Word of God, even though he became human and took up flesh, without mixture [of the two] nor in the manner of flesh, is spirit and word of God. It was later, as we said, that he took up from us and for our sake the human nature. He was always in God as His co-eternal Word “through whom God created the world.”³⁸

At this point the Chiones interrupted him again, and the presiding Palapanos, after he called for silence, said to the bishop, “The master demands from you to answer the question how we accept Christ, love him, respect him, confess him to be God’s word and breath, and we also place his mother near to God, and yet you do not accept our prophet nor do you love him?” Then the bishop said: “He who does not believe in the words of a teacher cannot love the teacher himself; that is why we do not love Muhammad. Our Lord God Jesus Christ has said to us that he will come again to judge the entire world. He also commanded us not to receive anyone else until He will come back to us again. He also said to those who disbelieved in him: “I have come in my Father’s name, and you do not receive me, nor did you accept me; if another comes in his own name, him you will receive.”³⁹ That is why the disciple [sic] of Christ writes to us: “But even if an angel preaches

to you contrary to that which you have received from us let him be accursed.”⁴⁰

Then the Chiones, along with the Turks, said to the bishop: “Circumcision was handed down by God from the very beginning. Even Christ himself was circumcized. How then, you do not circumcize yourselves?” Then the bishop: “Since you are referring to the old law and to what was handed down by God to the Hebrews at that time—for traditions of God also were the keeping of the Sabbath, the Jewish passover, sacrifices which were to be offered exclusively by the priests, the altar in the interior of the temple, and the dividing curtain—since all these and other such things have also been handed down by God, why do you not cherish any of them and you do not practice them?”

As the Chiones and Turks had no response to this, the bishop wanted to bring forth again those prophets who foretell clearly the transfer of the law and of that old testament and [who also foretell] that the transfer will take place through Christ; and he started saying: “That which you also call old...”⁴¹ They interrupted him again saying: “Why do you place many representations in your churches and you venerate them, even though God wrote and said to Moses: ‘Thou shalt not make a likeness of anything, whatever things are in heaven above, and whatever are in the earth beneath, and whatever are in the sea?’”⁴² And the bishop said again: “Friends are venerated by each other, but they are not made gods. It is evident to everyone that this is, indeed, what Moses learned from God and this is what he taught the people then. However, this same Moses again and at that time, left almost nothing of which he did not make a representation. He made the area beyond the curtain to be like and represent the celestial [reality]. Also, since the Cherubim are in heaven, he made representations of them and placed them into the innermost sanctuary of the temple. As to the exterior of the temple, he made it to represent the earthly [reality]. If anyone, then, had questioned Moses “Why have you made anyway such things, since God forbids the icons and the likeness of things in heaven and of things on earth?”, he would have, certainly, answered that “icons and representations are forbidden so that one may not worship them as gods. However, if one is to be elevated through them toward God, this is good!” The Greeks, too, praised created things but they did so as if they were gods. We praise them too, but we elevate ourselves through them to the glory of God.” Then the Turks said again: “Did, indeed, Moses

make these things then?" Answered many, "Yes, he did all these things."

At this point the officials of the Turks stood up, greeted with respect the bishop, and started leaving. One of the Chiones, however, stayed behind, insulted the great bishop of God, attacked him and beat him in the eye. The rest of the Turks who saw him, got hold of him, rebuked him severely and brought him in front of the Emir to whom they said whatever they said. What the Turks said to the Emir we did not hear exactly. As to what we have written down, however, we have been ear-witnesses. We wrote down what we saw and heard under the sight of God Himself.

This exchange⁴³ took place in the month of July, on the eighth indiction of the year 1363.⁴⁴

You should know also that I came to live in Nicaea during which time, having some freedom, I described briefly to your love the things regarding my captivity, leaving aside those things regarding our brethren in Christ, my fellow-captives for His sake. So that you may know a few things of what happened approximately there, it is only when they transfer us from city to city or town that the barbarians place guards for us; and it would be something very pleasant, indeed, to the ears of the Christians, if one had the time to write down their questions to us and our responses to them, or the things on which they concur with us, or simply all the conversations we had on the way. But when the guards bring us into the designated city or town, each one of them retires to his own, allowing us to stay or go wherever we please, and to associate with anyone we want, and I think that this, too, is not something that is not of a major providence.

As soon as they left us also free in Nicaea therefore, as usual, we asked as to where most of the Christians of this city live. When we learned that they lived by the monastery of Saint Hyacinth we went there immediately and met with the Christians who were eagerly expecting us and wishing such a things to happen. In the interior, beyond the yard of the monastery, we found a beautiful church and a well with fresh water in the midst of various thick-shade trees sumptuously blooming. The cool breeze, the comfort of the shade and the soothing quietness of the place, made us settle there; actually I did so, for I was alone. As far as the most God-loving chartophylax⁴⁵ is concerned, whom they had brought in front of the great Emir, I did not know where exactly he was al-

lowed to stay. As to the hieromonks Joseph and my own Gerasimos, they were already in Constantinople at that time. Konstas Kalamaris was still then alone in Prusa, living in the home of a certain pious man who had set him free with money. As he had not paid back the whole amount for his freedom, when I arrived there I paid the entire amount for him with the help, or rather by a miracle, of God, and he was set free. But I did not take him then with me, for I did not know where I was going to end up. But now, having written him and asked him to come, I the captive have him, the free man, as a companion and servant! And let this be added to the strange stories; that the captive grants freedom to his fellow-captive and he, who is not even master of himself, has under his authority a free man!

In the ensuing I will tell you a story from when, as I said, I was living alone: I went once out the gate of the city that was, and was called, "eastern," the closest also of all others. As I had walked a little beyond the gate—what can I say about the height and the beauty of the buildings, or about the fortifications; all these were in abundance in that city although to no avail now!—well as I had walked a little further, I saw in the plains a cubic structure made of marble and somewhat artistically decorated. I then asked those who happened to be around what is the use of that cube being outside [the walls] of the city, and standing there nearby, ready. They told me what the cube was for, and that is how the whole conversation ended. Then we heard wailing coming from inside the city. As we turned to the direction of the noise we saw a whole group of barbarians bringing out the body of a dead man. Walking slowly we came so close to them that we were able to see and hear what they were doing and saying. When they arrived at the cube they all observed an absolute silence and then more of them, lifting up the box wrapped in white sheets with the dead man inside, placed it solemnly on the cube. Surrounding him they had in their midst one of their Tasimanēs—this is how they call those dedicated to their sacred places. He, raising up his hands, let out a cry and they responded even louder. He did this three times. Then those who were set to do the burying take the box up on their arms and walk further down. All the rest, with the Tasimanēs, return home.

We also were returning, entering next to them the same gate when we noted that the Tasimanēs with a few others sat down under the shadow of the gate to enjoy the cool air of the season; for it was July. Suspecting that those sitting on the opposite side might be Christians, which they were, we sat down, too. As I was sitting

there I asked whether anyone could speak both languages that I needed. There was somebody, whom I asked to say to the Turks on my behalf that what they had performed outside there I thought was good, "for you addressed yourselves to God—to whom else?—for the deceased one. I wanted, however, to know what was that you exclaimed to God?" Tasimanis using the same interpreter, said that he would explain: "We asked for forgiveness from God for the deceased, for his own sins committed in his soul." Retorting myself I said, "Very well, but the judge is merciful, indeed, and dispenses mercy; and he who will come as judge of every race of men, even according to you, is Christ. You must be addressing, therefore, the prayers and the exclamations to Him. Thus you, too, invoke him as God, as we do, who believe that as an inborn Word of His he is indivisible from the Father; for there was no time when God was without reason or without the natural word." Tasimanis then said, "Christ, too, is a servant of God."⁴⁶ I said to him "But you must consider this, my good man, that as you also say, He will judge the living and the dead, who will rise and present themselves in front of Him at a fearful and impartial tribunal in the coming presence of His. Abraham, who is also your own forefather as you have it in your own scriptures (for you insist that you uphold the tradition of Moses, as it is also maintained by the Jews), this Abraham, therefore, says to God, 'Thou that judgest the whole earth, shalt thou not do right?' ⁴⁷ Thus He who will judge the entire earth is himself God, who, according to Daniel the prophet is King of the whole universe forever,⁴⁸ being no different than the Father according to the divinity; in the same way as the brightness of the sun is no different than the sun, so far as the light is concerned."

Tasimanis gave the impression that he found himself in a difficult situation, but after a brief silence he started a longer speech. Then many more Christians and Turks gathered to listen. Thus, he began saying that they accept all the prophets including Christ as well as the four books sent down from God, one of which is also the gospel of Christ.⁴⁹ When he finished he turned the speech to me saying, "Why then, do you not accept our prophet or do you not believe that his book came down from heaven?" I said to him again: "Your custom and our custom, that has been confirmed by antiquity and law, is to accept or consent to nothing as true without witnesses. And there are two kinds of witnesses; either those of their works and deeds, or those of trustworthy persons. Thus Moses disciplined Egypt with signs and marvels. With his rod he split the sea into two and he united it again. He also brought down

bread from heaven. But what is the use of mentioning the rest since you also believe in Moses? He has also been witnessed to by God as a trustworthy servant, although not as a Son and Word. Later on, at God's commandment, he ascended the mountain and died, and he added himself to those who had preceded him. On the other hand, Christ, in addition to the extraordinary things that he did, which are many and great, is witnessed to by Moses himself and the other prophets; He is also the only one who is called eternal Word of God by you, as well. He is the only one ever born of a virgin; the only one ever who ascended into heaven and remains there immortal; the only one ever who is hoped to come back thence to judge the living and the dead who will rise—to say about him only what you, too, the Turks confess. It is, therefore, for these that we believe in Christ and His Gospel. As far as Muhammad is concerned we do not find that he is either witnessed to by the prophets, or that he did anything unusual or worthwhile leading to faith. That is why we do not believe in him or his book."

It was clear that Tasimanēs was unable to put up with this. Yet he responded saying: "There was reference to Muhammad in the Gospel but you cut it out.⁵⁰ Moreover, setting out from the farthest East he progressed victoriously, as you can see, all the way to the West." I, then, said to him: "Insofar as the gospel is concerned nothing was ever cut out from it by any Christian, or altered in any way. There are heavy and most shivering curses for such an act, and he who dares to either cut out or to alter anything, is cut off actually from Christ. How is it possible then, that a Christian did such a thing, or how could he be still a Christian, or in anyway acceptable among the Christians if he had erased off what has been divinely engraved and what Christ himself imprinted or foretold? Witnesses to this are also the many and various dialects in which the gospel of Christ was conveyed from the very beginning; it was not written originally in only one [dialect]. If anything was distorted, how did this pass unnoticed, and how was such an agreement kept in the minds of various nations until today? Also many people of a different faith have the Gospel of Christ, whom we call heretics, among whom there are some who agree with us on some issues, and yet they, too, do not have any such thing to show in the Gospel of Christ. Even among those who were adversaries from the beginning—and there are many of these—there is no such thing to to be shown. The opposite, rather, can be found clearly in the Gospel. How is it then that the Gospel confirmed something to the opponents which itself does not contain and which was not told be-

fore to the divine prophets? If there were anything good about Muhammad written in the Gospel it would have also been written in the prophets. On the contrary, you may rather find not wiped out but written that "many false Christs and false prophets will arise and lead many astray."⁵¹

If Christ were like Moses and the prophets of all ages before and after him (they all returned through death to the earth resting there and awaiting the judge who is to come from heaven), the same would have happened with Him. In that case another prophet should have come after him again who would have ascended into heaven and brought his [mission] to an end; for the end of everything that is here is in heaven.⁵² However, as you also confess, Christ did ascend into heaven and no-one of right mind does expect anyone after Him. Not only did Christ ascend into heaven, but it is the same who is expected to return as you, too, confess. Thus, he is the one who came, who comes, and who is expected to return and we, rightly so, neither accept nor are we waiting for anyone other than Him. He is expected to come again to judge all men. Why? Because, as He Himself said, the light that is He and His teaching came and became manifest to the world; but men, promulgating different teachings and indulging deeply in their own desires, loved the darkness rather than the light.⁵³ So that, therefore, this may not happen to us, the pinnacle of the disciples of Christ says, "there will be false teachers and false prophets who will bring in destructive heresies, and in their greed they will exploit you with false words; for many will follow their licentiousness."⁵⁴ Another one says, "even if an angel should preach to you a gospel contrary to that which we preached to you, let him be accursed."⁵⁵ And the evangelist says, "every spirit which does not confess that the Lord Jesus Christ has come in flesh, is not of God."⁵⁶ How would He who says that "he who confesses that Jesus—the one manifested in flesh—is not Lord, is not from God" have given a book that says that he who confirms this comes from God? This is not possible; not at all!

Muhammad marched from the East and he progressed victoriously to the West. He did so, however, by the means of war and the sword, with pillage, enslavement and executions, none of which has its origin in God, the righteous One, but he is advancing the will of him who from the beginning was the destroyer of man. How about Alexander? Did he not, starting from the West, conquer the East? There have also been other men at other times who, after repeated campaigns over-ruled the entire world. However, no nation en-

trusted their souls to any of them, as you did with Muhammad, who, although he resorted to violence and allowed licentious things, did not take into his fold even a whole portion of the world. On the other hand, the teaching of Christ although it directs one away from almost all the pleasures of the world, has embraced the universe to its ends. It endures even among its enemies without instigating violence, but rather every time winning the adversary force; for “this is the victory that has overcome the world.”⁵⁷

When I was saying this the Christians who happened to be there, seeing that the Turks were already getting irritated, signaled me to finish my speech. And I, changing to a milder tone and smiling gently at them, said again, “After all, if we were in one accord, we would be of one and the same faith, too.” But let him who is intelligent appreciate the meaning of what we said. Then one of them said, “There will come a time when we will agree with each other.” I consented and I amplified the wish that such a time may come more quickly. But why did I say this for those who abide by a different faith now, rather than for those who would be living then! I consented because I remembered the Apostle’s saying that “at the name of Jesus Christ every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father”;⁵⁸ and this will certainly come to pass in the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

At this the gathering dispersed for the day. As to what went on the next days the spirit is willing but the hand is not strong enough to write about. That much I wrote for those of you who desire to know. For children, and even more so those who are mindful of their spiritual adoption, want to know the experiences of their father. As when I was with you I used, privately and publicly, to teach you persistently with my words the way that leads to salvation, never lowering my standards even though some thought I was heavy to bear, the same thing I do now that I am absent and in the midst of tribulation. Even briefly, I am writing to you all, not withholding anything; for [this way] we become rich in God,⁵⁹ the living and the true One, who is witnessed to not only by God the Father and the God-sent prophets, but also by their works and deeds. Justifiably, therefore, He demands that our faith in Him be alive, truthful and witnessed to by God and by the teachers who come from God, as well as by their works and deeds. This, then, will be accomplished if we live according to the injunctions of the Gospel. For this way, the spirit of the grace of the Gospel “bears witness”, according to the Apostle, “with our spirit that we are children of God;

and if children, then heirs, heirs of God and fellow heirs with Christ.”⁶⁰ This is the living faith; for “faith apart from works is dead,”⁶¹ says another one of the preachers of faith. And something that is dead is not welcome by the living God; for God “is not God of the dead, but of the living.”⁶² He, therefore, whose faith is dead for lack of good deeds, is himself also dead for not living and being in God—the only one who provides true and inviolate life; until such time as he experiences, like the saved prodigal son, the poverty that he suffered by taking distance from the deeds of life, and returns to God through the deeds of repentance, and until he hears from Him, the words like that saved prodigal son, “This my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found.”⁶³ This is the way to have a true faith. For faith that is not witnessed to by works of salvation is no more faith than unbelief and no more confession than apostasy. This is what he who talks about such things indicates: “They profess to know God, but they deny him by their deeds; they are detestable, disobedient, unfit for any good deed.”⁶⁴ Another of the fellow disciples says: “Show me your faith with your deeds”;⁶⁵ and “Who is faithful; by his good life let him show his deeds.”⁶⁶ What is the merit if one says that he has faith, but he shows no deeds? Can faith save him? Not at all. You may believe that Christ is one God along with the Father and the Spirit. Good enough. However, even the demons believe and are terrified when they say “We know who you are: the Son of God in the Highest.”⁶⁷ And yet the demons are adversaries, precisely because they oppose God with their works.

Be mindful not to be like these ill-minded men; I do not mean in regard to your reverence in God, but rather in your conduct as they suffered in the doctrine. For they confess that he who was born of the Virgin is the Word of God and spirit of His and Christ, that is God-man, but then they flee and break away from him madly as non-God. Take heed, therefore, not to be like them and find yourselves, on the one hand confessing that the virtues and the biblical injunctions are righteous, and on the other hand with your deeds breaking away from them as if they were not so; showing that what is indeed good is not good for you and what is indeed permissible is something to flee from.

Tell me, how is it possible that an unbeliever may trust you when you say that you believe in Him who was born of the Virgin, born from the Father beyond time and before all ages, and subsequently in time—in a supernatural way—by a mother, but you practice neither chastity nor prudence, and you rather insist passion-

ately and unrepentently on the opposite [acts] and let yourself be surrendered to debauchery? How can the drunkard and the glutton show themselves as having become, through the Spirit, adopted sons of Him who fasted in the desert for forty days and who with His example gave the ordinance of temperance? How can he who loves injustice be one [an adopted son] of Him who commands us to judge with right judgment;⁶⁸ or the heartless, of Him who said "Be merciful, even as your Father in Heaven is merciful";⁶⁹ or he who has no sympathy and magnanimity towards those who fail or he shows no gentleness, tolerance and humility, to Him who showed us these virtues with deeds and who urged us towards them with words? For He says: "Learn from me; for I am gentle and lowly in heart, and you will find rest for your souls";⁷⁰ and "if you do not forgive the trespasses of your brethren, neither will your heavenly Father forgive your trespasses."⁷¹ Even when he was hanging on the cross, offering Himself as an example to us, He kept saying to the Father not to hold this sin against them.

One might, of course, say that He was God and, as such, detached from evil. I have many things to say about this, but time does not allow me. I am not asking from you, however, for divine but human goodness. Make a start in this goodness and God will provide its perfection. Detach yourself from evil; stay in the place of virtue. Undertake the deeds of repentance and while waiting, you will receive from God not only the perfection of human goodness, but you will also acquire the supernatural divine virtues, by the coming of the Holy Spirit to dwell in you. This is how man is deified. For he who is clinging to God by means of the works of virtue becomes one spirit with God,⁷² through the grace of the Holy Spirit. This may be with you all always now and ever and unto ages of ages. Amen.

Unlike another great Father of the East, John of Damascus, six hundred years earlier, Palamas demonstrates a popular rather than sophisticated knowledge of Islam. In this respect the above texts—although not yet fully analyzed—provide minimal original material to the Muslim-Christian dialogue. The significance of these texts lies in what we learn from them about the Byzantine Christians and the Muslims in Anatolia in the middle of the fourteenth century as a prelude to the dissolution of the Byzantine Empire. Even more so, however, we gain from them another insight of Gregory Palamas' own personality and of his progressive awareness of the Muslim

reality. What is significant is Palamas' direct—even though unwilling and circumstantial—encounter with Islam, as well as the fact that he intensely observed and diligently reported to his Christians what he observed and experienced; a valuable historical document. As a mystic he was better prepared than many of his contemporaries to transcend the visible physical circumstances and to address himself, as a spiritual master, to the more profound human spiritual condition.¹⁵ He lived in captivity under the Turks, but he entered into a persistent, meaningful dialogue with them, earning their anger, but also their respect. He remained the hesychast teacher of deification.

Although these particular documents cannot offer but a limited view of the entire spectrum of the Byzantine anti-Islamic literature, they can nevertheless support tentatively the following general comment: Writers of spiritual and mystical disposition, although openly critical towards the Muslims, did not hesitate to enter into a dialogue with them. On the contrary, they allowed themselves convincingly to see Islam as part of God's wholesome and unknown scheme of human salvation. They saw Islam from the Christian point of view and as such coming short of God's ultimate offer—the Incarnation of his own Logos. Nonetheless they perceived Islam as the means through which the Muslims relate directly to God through word and spirit. Thus, John of Damascus—the theologian of the icon, the monk of the Judean desert, and possibly the initiator of Muslim-Christian dialogue—treats Islam as a *Christian* heresy. Gregory Palamas—the theologian of *theosis*, a leader of the hesychasts, and one of the last Byzantine interlocutors with Islam—treats Islam as *theoseveia*, even though he speaks of the Turks as “most barbaric among the barbarians.”

NOTES

1. Of the extensive bibliography on Palamas one could still mention the work of Gregory Papamichael, *Ho Hagios Gregorios Palamas, Archiepiskopos Thessalonikes* (St. Petersburg and Alexandria, 1911), but especially the works of John Meyendorff, an authority on Palamas and the Palamite theology, particularly his *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris, 1959) (English edition *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, London, 1964) and *St. Gregory Palamas and Orthodox Spirituality* (N. York, 1974). The main source of Palamas' life is Philotheos, Patriarch of Constantinople (1354, 1364-76), *Encomion, or Laudation*, PG 151:551-656.

2. Cf. Philotheos, 626A.

3. The date of the fall of Kallipolis has been the subject of some controversy among certain specialists. A fourteenth century chronicle (published by Joseph Müller, "Byzantinische Analekten, Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften" in *Philologisch-Historische Klasse* 9 (1852) 336-419) specifies the date of the earthquake as having taken place on 2 March 1354 and it connects this event to the subsequent fall of the city to the Turks. This date, accepted originally by G. Georgiades Arnakis in *Oi Tirowoi 'Othwmanoi*, No. 41 of the *Beihefte* of the *Byzantinischer griechische Jahrbücher* (Athens, 1947), has been revised to 1355 by the same (in his "Gregory Palamas among the Turks and Documents of His Captivity as Historical Sources," *Speculum* 26 (1951) 111-12; and also in his "Gregory Palamas, the *Xiōves*, and the fall of Gallipoli," *Byzantion* 22 (1952) 310ff), on the basis of some details of the present letter of Palamas which, I think, Arnakis has misunderstood. P. Charanis has convincingly shown ("On the date of the Occupation of Gallipoli by the Turks," *Byzantinoslavica* 16 (1955) 113-17) that the date 1354 is the right one, on the basis of the existing textual evidences. A closer reading of Palamas' texts points to 1354 as the year of the earthquake and of the fall of Kallipolis.

4. *Speculum* 26 (1951) 104-18.

5. PG, 151:626 B-C.

6. Cf. the Greek journal *Soter* (Athens), 15 (1892) 238.

7. Cf. the Greek journal, *Deltion tes Historikes kai Ethnologikes Hetairias tes Hellados* (Athens) 3 (1889) 227, on the information of the Notes from Fabricius' Library. Cf. PG, 150:777-78 (#VI).

8. PG, 150:808 (#LXVI).

9. " . . . A plusieurs reprises, il y a l'occasion d'exposer aux musulmans les mystères de la Trinité et de l'Incarnation, comme il la raconte lui-même dans une lettre adressée a son Église, si toutefois la pièce est authentique." "Palamas, Grégoire," in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, 11 (1932), p. 1740. The underlining is mine.

10. "You should know also that I came to live in Nicaea, during which time having some freedom I described briefly to your love the things regarding my captivity . . ." The wording of this statement suggests that Palamas wrote part of the letter in Nicaea and completed it elsewhere.

11. *Soter*, 15 (1892) 246. Cf. below.

12. Cf. e.g. "I will narrate, therefore, to your love what I have perceived to be of the providence of God when I was led to Asia through captivity . . ." Palamas sees as part of God's judgment not only the predicament of the Christian population in Anatolia, but also his own survival and experience through his captivity, which by then had perhaps ended.

13. Paul Wittek ("*Χιώτες*," *Byzantion* 21 (1951) 421-23) has challenged Arnakis' identification of the Chiones with the militant religious group of *Akhiyan*, which Arnakis promulgated in his article on Palamas in *Speculum*, 26 (1951) 114. Arnakis responded to the challenge ("Gregory Palamas, the *Χιώτες*, and the fall of Gallipoli," *Byzantion*, 22 (1952) 305-12) by analyzing etymologically the name and reaffirming his belief that the name signifies the *Akhis*. Wittek's suggestion is that the name Chiones is a distortion and evolution of the Persian and Turkish *khoja* which means master, teacher, clergyman; the Chiones therefore are, according to him, religious master or teachers.

14. *Soter*, 15 (1892) 240-46.

15. Cf. Meyendorff, *A Study of Palamas*, p. 115.

NOTES TO THE TEXTS

1. I.e., Gregory Palamas.

2. Cf. [Ps. 76(77).20]; Rom. 11.33-34.

3. A galley with three men on each bench, each man rowing one oar, and three oars passing together through the outrigger. Liddell-Scott, *A Greek English Lexicon*, w τριήρης.

4. *Iliad*, 1 4

5. a corn-measure

6. Gallipoli, or Kallipolis (=city of beauty). Demetrios Kydones in an "Advisory speech on Kallipolis, demanded by Murat" (PG 154.1009-36) reminds the Byzantine authorities that "we always considered it to be most precious of all our possessions" (1012B) and that although itself small, it protects the greatest metropolis, that is Constantinople (1024D). Kydones had advised against surrendering the city to the Turks.

7. This is the name of the ancient Persian dynasty to which Alexander the Great put an end in 330 B.C. In the third century A.D. Artaxerxes revitalized the religion of Zoroaster and claimed the territories of the ancient Persian Empire. Later the terocity as well as the general geographical area of the Turkish advances made for the Byzantines, the equation between Persians and Turks possible

8. On the Asiatic side of the straights across from Kallipolis.

9. I.e., the Christian population.

10. I.e., the Muslim Turks.

11. Cf. Rom. 1.28, 21

12. Rom. 6.9.

13. Rom. 1.28.

14. Pegai was a coastal city east of Lampsakos. The city, although pillaged by the Turks, had become a refuge for uprooted Christian populations in Anatolia. A contemporary act of the Patriarchate of Constantinople gives the bishop of Pegai the metropolitanate of Sozopolis as *epidosis* (or, support) because "its most pious bishop is in need of even the very necessities of livelihood." Fr. Miklosich and Jos. Muller, *Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, 1 (Vindobonae, 1860), p 330

15. "Great Heteriarch" was a title in the Constantinopolitan imperial court of a dignitary charged with the duty of receiving those who were fleeing to the imperial court and especially the foreigners and the friends (*hetairoi*) of the court Cf. Du Gange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, 1, col 439

16. Brusa. The city, sieged and pillaged by Osman in 1301, fell into the hands of Orkhan on 6 April 1326.

17. The monks of Mt. Athos, as in many other strict monastic communities, do not eat meat Furthermore this encounter took place on a Friday.

18. Implying Christ.

19. Palamas writes "Esa."

20. Cf. Surah 3.39, 45, 4.171; 2.87

21. Cf. Surah 2.87, 253; 3.45, 4.157, 5.46, 75, 110, 112, 114, 116; 19.34, 33 7, 57.27, 61.6, 14.

22. I.e., the Roman Christians.

23. Arnakis identifies him with Balaban, "one of the most prominent of Osman's associates, usually mentioned as Balabangik, who is connected with the blockade of Brusa" Cf. *Speculum* (1951) 112-13.

24. Lit. "Turks".

25. Gr. *alogos*. The word means both, "without word" or speech, as well as "without reason."

26. Gen. 1.3.

27. Gen. 1.11.

28. Cf. Ps. 32(33).9.

29. Gen. 2.7.

30. Job 33.4.

31. The writer uses in all instances the expression *ho Thessalonikes* = the (bishop) of Thessalonike. In this translation I preferred to shorten the phrase with the expression "the bishop."

32. Ps. 106(107).20.

33. Ps. 103(104).30.

34. Cf. Ps. 10(11).8.

35. Cf. Job 14.4-5.

36. Ps. 50(51).5.

37. Surah 3.59: "Lo! the likeness of Jesus with Adam is as the likeness of Adam. He created him of dust, then He said unto him: Be! and he is."

38. Heb. 1.2.

39. Jn. 5.43.

40. Gal. 1.8.

41. The text at this point is incomplete.

42. Cf. Ex. 20.4.

43. Lit., lecture.

44. I.e., in the year 1355.

45. *Chartoularios*, keeper of archives.

46. Cf. Surah, 4.172; 19.30, (93); 43.59.

47. Gen. 18.25 (Samuel Bagster translation of *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament*). The Greek version of the Septuagint suggests a different translation ("Thou..., shalt thou not pass a judgment? [or] . . . make a ruling?") which is in closer agreement with the Hebrew, and contextually more justifiable. The RSV ("Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?") is equally presumptuous.

48. Daniel, 5.21.

49. These are the Torah of Moses, the Psalms of David, the Gospel of Jesus and the Qur'an of Muhammad. On account of the acceptance of this prophetic progressive revelation the Jews and the Christians are, to the Muslims, the 'People of the Book' (*ahl-al-kitab*).

50. This is the Islamic doctrine of *tahrif* or 'corruption' according to which the Christians have corrupted their Scriptures to conceal their prediction of the advent of Muhammad.

51. Mt. 24.11, 24.

52. Cf. Lk. 21.8, 9.

53. Cf. Jn. 3.19.

54. Cf. 2 Pet. 2.1-3.

55. Cf. Gal. 1.8.

56. Cf. 1 Jn. 4.3, 4.

57. Cf. 1 Jn. 5.4.

58. Cf. Phil. 2.10-11.

59. Cf. Lk. 12.21.

60. Rom. 8.16-17.

61. Jas. 2.26.

62. Mt. 22.32.

63. Lk. 15.24.

64. Tit. 1.16.

65. Jas. 2.18.

66. Cf. Jas. 3.13.

67. Cf. Mk. 5.7.

68. Cf. Jn. 7.24.

69. Cf. Lk. 6.36.

70. Mt. 11.29.

71. Cf. Mt. 6.15.

72. Cf. 1 Cor. 6.17.

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CONSENSUS IN THE FORMULATION OF DOCTRINE

As the apostles gradually died out, the early Christians realized the need for some responsible authority to interpret the significance of certain truths so as to exclude errors. They turned, therefore, to the ordained ministry which under the guidance of the Holy Spirit authoritatively formulated doctrinal statements and disciplinary decisions.

The Ecumenical Synods which in due course were summoned for this purpose did not think of themselves as revealing any new truth, but simply as setting forth the faith once and for all entrusted to the Church. Their decisions were 'ecumenical' because they spoke for the whole body of believers, expressed the *sensus communis*. This resulted in the development of collaboration and fraternal contacts with a view toward establishing the mystery of the Body of Christ.

The infallible origin of the decrees promulgated to help the spiritual advance of the Body of Christ is shown by the warnings with which conciliar decrees conclude and the frequent reference to the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

The conciliar decisions vary in their binding force, of course, depending on whether they deal with the unchanging dogma or the changing ethos. The esteem in which the conscience of the early Church held the Synods finds expression in the words of the Emperor Justinian.¹

My purpose in this essay is to show the significance and importance of the unity of faith achieved by the Ecumenical Synods. There was never any suggestion that truth was the result of the partial or complete consensus achieved among the delegates themselves. The ruling concern was to reach agreement with the Truth transmitted through the centuries from the very beginning. From this not the least departure was permissible. This is why in all conciliar documents we find such phrases as: "following previous synods," "continuing their deliberations," "in conformity with them," etc.

Reflecting the sentiments of the people of God, the Emperor Constantine shared the concern for establishing unanimity among the delegates, without rivalries and struggles for power. In his letter to the Nicene Fathers he says explicitly: “τὸ αὐτὸ λέγωσι πάντες, πλήθει πίστις, μία καὶ εἰλικρινῆς ἀγάπη ὁμογνώμων τηρεῖται.” Since then, the terms *συνοδικὴ διαγνώμη* and *κωμὴ πάντων κρίσει* have continued to be traditional.

There was never any such thing as an ‘independent’ episcopate, a set of ‘episcopal monads.’ *Episcopatus unus est, cuius a singulis solidum pars tenetur.*² Cyprian’s statement reflects the constant faith of the Church. Bishops were elected in accordance with rules established by the episcopal community; these required the endorsement of the community in the consecration, represented by the presence of one or more bishops; bishops had to accept the faith and discipline of the episcopal communion to remain within the communion of the Church. Hence the practice of resolving current problems by meeting together in regional or local councils, and by exchanging their respective confessions of faith and disciplinary decisions, always appealing to the Tradition.

Even in the wide freedom of action enjoyed by each bishop and the bishops of each province or ecclesiastical district, one principle remained in force: each bishop, while a member of a local episcopal communion, was part of a wider communion, the *oikoumene*, the universal communion of the bishops of the Church, with Christ as its supreme head and chief. We are all familiar with the words of St. Irenaeus: “*Ad hanc Ecclesiam propter potentiores eius principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper, ab his qui sunt undique conservata est ab Apostolis traditio.*”³

The universal episcopal communion was thus regarded as the supreme authority in the matter of ecclesiastical faith and discipline, whether through the exchange of letters, testimonies and creeds, or acting in the more solemn form of a council and its decisions.

The One Faith and One Voice of the Synods

No particular bishop can be the sole repository of ecclesiastical authority, therefore, or claim to embody in his person the supreme authority in the Church. The supreme authority in the whole Church is the meeting of its bishops in council. The supreme authority of the whole Church is the ecumenical synod. As

the organ for the formulation and clarification of the truth of the Gospel, it defines infallibly, in the power of the Holy Spirit. But it introduces no new elements into the deposit of divine revelation handed on by the apostles; it simply interprets this deposit and defines it in a reliable and inerrant way.

The purpose of the councils is, in the excellent formulation of Vincent of Lérins,⁴ to establish the truth which is found in the Bible and in the Tradition and which constitutes the mind and conscience of all living church members. When this truth is challenged and distorted, it needs to be stated as clearly as possible, so that "the doctrines of the heavenly philosophy 'acquire' clarity, convincing force, and precision," without on the other hand being "changed, distorted and twisted," but "retaining their integrity, purity and true and proper significance." Thus "that which previously was quite simply believed will be judged more comprehensibly and that which was previously accepted by the elders simply on the strength of the Tradition will subsequently be sealed in written documents for those who will succeed us." When the holy councils satisfy this condition religiously, and are conducted in the fear of God, they will, within the limits of their jurisdiction, appear as infallible instruments in the formulation and clarification of the divine Truth. The Ecumenical Synods, in particular, constitute the supreme external authority in the Church, that which interprets and defines the truth of the faith with the help of God.

The opinion and faith of the Fathers and of the Church in the Ecumenical Synods confirms this position. Ever since the very first Ecumenical Synod, this view gained acceptance and was officially proclaimed in the letter of the Emperor Constantine: "What was pleasing to the 318 bishops is no other than the decision of God, especially that the Holy Spirit, present in the minds of so many men of such quality, caused the divine will to shine forth."⁵ The church historian Socrates himself took the same view. He notes that the bishops of the First Ecumenical Synod, though simple men, "were in no way able to separate themselves from the truth because they were enlightened by God and the grace of the Holy Spirit." Other Church Fathers argued in the same way, whether to accept the decisions of the Ecumenical Synods as they did the four gospels,⁶ or as "divinely inspired" synods,⁷ or describing their decisions as "truly formulated by the Holy Spirit," or as "spiritual decrees" and *haereditaria signacula* which no one dare to contravene.⁸ St. Basil urges acceptance of the faith expounded

at Nicaea and warns against breaking "even the least of its words" for "the 318 met together without a quarrelsome spirit and their decisions were not made without the operation of the Holy Spirit."⁹

Would it have been possible to complete the unique Body without this diversity in the distribution of the charismatic gifts? If all had received the same higher charism, if all had been apostles or prophets or pastors, then "they would all be a member but not a body. It is because all did not receive the same charism that they can form one body. Since they form one body, they are all one and there is no difference between them in the degree to which they are the body." "It is therefore this difference between the charisms above all which produced their equal value, for if it did not exist all of them together would not form a body. If they were not a body they could not be equal in value. The equal value derives from the fact that there is one body." As in a human body "the eye cannot tell the other's members, 'I have no need of you'; the hands need each other and the feet strengthen each other and the eyes play their part in enabling us to understand the whole body," so, too, in the mystical Body of Christ, "those who have received the higher gifts" have no reason whatever "to boast in the presence of those who have received the lesser gifts as if these latter gifts were unimportant and useless to them." "The more modest gift is necessary," therefore, "since without it the plenitude of the Church would be crippled." As in the case of the human body, we cannot say that "one member constitutes a body in itself without coordination with the other members," so, too, in the Church the one who has the episcopal charism or any other charism cannot constitute on his own the body of the Church.¹⁰ All of them, each with his own charism, should be united together with the others just as "in the community of life, the distinctive charism of each becomes the common blessing of the community members" and thus the variety of charisms by uniting a number of properties constitutes a complete body and "all together complete the body of Christ and all become equal since they all form the one body."

Stressing St. Paul's statement "we have all been baptized into one single body,"¹¹ Chrysostom comments: "Paul is right to say 'we . . . all' and he includes himself. He says: 'I am an apostle but as such have no greater share in that than you. You are body as I am and I am body as you are, and we all have the same Head.'"¹² Elsewhere he stresses the equality of pastors and flock: "The most

important things are common to all: baptism, salvation by faith, having God as Father, participating in the life of the Spirit.”¹³ Clearly, then, the clergy do not constitute a particular Church, separate from and dominating the rest of the Church. The Church is one and undivided, the one mystical Body of Christ. The Lord, the Savior, God Incarnate, did not designate himself the Church. He is proclaimed in the New Testament as its foundation, its cornerstone, its Head, whereas the Church is called his Body, or again, his fullness. “The body is in fact the fullness of the head, and the head is the fullness of the body. The head is perfect and the body becomes perfect when we are all assembled together.” The very choir of the apostles never appears in Scripture in isolation designated as the Church. The apostles are called foundations of the Church. But the foundations and the pillars are built into the one building which is the Church; while inseparable, they are nevertheless only elements of the building. Expressions commonly used such as “official Church,” “directing Church,” “teaching Church,” are used only by custom and are inaccurate from a dogmatic standpoint if taken literally.

It is indeed true that only those who belong to the special group of the clergy — i.e. the bishops and priests — have authority to celebrate and confer sacraments. No lay person can consecrate the Eucharist or administer chrismation, hand on the priesthood or grant remission of sins, or celebrate any other consecratory ceremony. But this does not prove that the laity are deprived of a true and genuine priesthood. This is clear from the limited authority acquired by the first degree of priesthood: although ordination as deacon confers a real priesthood on its recipients, it does not at the same time confer authority and power to celebrate the sacraments. Furthermore, on no point of dogma are the Fathers more completely unanimous than on the priesthood of the laity.

The equation of the characteristic of the royal priesthood of Christians with the title of ancient Israel (also called a “royal priesthood”) was imprecise. So, too, was the severe punishment of those who dared to offer the sacrifice or on Uzzah when he approached the Ark by necessity¹⁴ has been used to prove that the title was merely honorific and conferred no priestly character on the new Israel.

St. John Chrysostom rightly comments that the realities of the ancient Law were attributed to the Israelites as “types,” whereas those of the New Law are for us “truths which while retaining a

certain homonymy are not synonymous.” In explanation he gives an illustration: the sketch in black crayon on white paper “is called man” and so, too, is a “colored picture” or a “statue in gold or clay.” But whereas the black and white sketch and the clay model are called “men” in the sense of “types,” the colored painting or the golden statue are so “in virtue of their truthfulness.” His conclusion: “Do not argue from the similarity of names to the identity of things, nor to their opposition either. As type, he was not a complete stranger to the truth; but retaining the shadow, he was below the truth.” To show more clearly the difference separating the type and the material truth, he recalls that the Jews were all said to be “sons of the Most High,” yet “in using the name ‘son’ they still retain the spirit of servitude; remaining servants, they were not honored by this name. We who have been set free not just in name but also in reality, have received the honors. Born from above and regenerated, so to speak, we have been called sons.”

Chrysostom emphasizes again elsewhere the rights of the faithful, based on the spiritual priesthood, to partake of the sacraments on an equal footing with the priests, communicating in both kinds! The exact opposite was the case in ancient Israel where “the priest ate certain foods and the people were rigorously prohibited from partaking of what pertained to the priest.” But there is nothing of this kind found in the New Testament; “the one bread and the one cup are offered to all.” There is, moreover, “the people’s contribution to the prayers,” and even in ordinations, not only during the election when the vote of the congregation recommends to the authorities those who are presented for ordination, but also when “the person to be ordained” asks for the prayers of the people, so that in the most solemn sacramental ceremonies the people are heard along with the priest and even “sing sacred hymns in unison with the cherubim and the heavenly powers.”¹⁵

Between the churches of the East and West there is complete harmony on this point. When we think of the Church, we are not surprised to read in Clement of Alexandria: “He who lives in accordance with the Gospel completely and knowingly is in reality a priest of the Church and a minister of God’s will, not ordained by human hands but because he is a just man he is inscribed in the presbytery.”¹⁶ Such a person, although not given a place of honor here below, will sit upon the twenty-four thrones judging the people “as the book of Revelation says.”¹⁷

Reception by the Whole People of God

The laity also had a real place in the formulation and proclamation of the truth of salvation and the true faith in the synods of the Church. We were certainly not forgetting that, at the Synod of the Apostles (Acts 15.22), the decisions were taken "as it seemed good to the apostles, the presbyters and the whole Church" and that the custom was long continued in the Church of admitting a fair number of lay people to the synods to express their opinion. It is nevertheless important to stress that the faithful people do not sanctify the ecumenical synods nor do the bishops who compose these synods define doctrine in the name of the people, as if they were the agents of power who had received from the people the honor of proclaiming a truth protected by the people, as some Russian theologians seem to believe. The Synods define doctrine in their own right "with the assistance of the Holy Spirit, *ipso et divino jure*"; the faithful people subsequently recognize these definitions as not exceeding their destination but as interpreting practically and formulating infallibly the truth. It was from this standpoint that the Orthodox patriarchs in the East, in their reply to Pius IX in 1848, proclaimed: "Among us, the Orthodox, neither patriarchs nor synods would ever introduce new things, because the defender of religion is the body of the Church itself, namely, the people who desire their faith eternally unchanged and identical with that of the fathers."¹⁸

To convince ourselves of the truth of this we have only to consider the fact that the decisions of the many Ecumenical Synods, the first, fourth and seventh in particular, were not received by the whole Church immediately and were not without opposition and vigorous discussions from a large number who were critical of the truths defined, and who were sometimes very dangerously inflamed during the ebb and flow of the struggle, but in the end these truths prevailed after much difficulty. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that the synods whose decisions were so violently attacked were not sufficiently informed and clear about the thought of the people concerning the doctrines they defined. Only later was it manifested incontestably, for no other reason than that they had defined the truth. The holy synods thus defined of their own volition and with the aid of the Holy Spirit. Their reception and endorsement by the whole Church as expressing the view of the ecclesial *pleroma* does not constitute an acceptance of con-

ciliar decisions and acts in the absence of which these decisions and acts would be invalid. But they are a very official and unassailable external testimony to the sacred character of these decisions and acts. Such acceptance is sufficient in itself for the definitive recognition that a synod is holy and ecumenical, as happened in the case of the Seventh Ecumenical Synod, the ecumenicity of which, though called in question by the Synod of Frankfurt in 794 and by the English Church in the same year, remained unassailable because it was based on its acceptance by the ecclesial *pleroma* and not on the approval of a new Ecumenical Synod, since it was the last of these.

So high an estimation of the people's endorsement of a synod is easily explained when we consider that the definitions and formulas of the holy synods are taken in accord with the written and unwritten apostolic tradition, which is no dead theoretical wisdom but the living thought of the whole body of the Church, attested and shaped by the practical faith of all its active members. The treasure of faith, contained in the Holy Scriptures and in the apostolic Tradition generally, is meant to be the possession of every Christian and to be lived in the life of each one of us. The decisions of the holy synods concerning this treasure, made when heretics were opposing the truth in a struggle which was followed with consuming interest by active members of the Church, cannot therefore be a matter of indifference to the faithful, for these are not dead. The spontaneous judgment of synodical decisions by the ecclesial *pleroma*, therefore, although not always temperate, at the same time shows the general thought of the Church which has never ceased to be attested by this judgment.

The laity's interest in the reception of conciliar acts is also of direct relevance to the laity themselves. Here it is a question mainly, if not exclusively, of the message to be taken to the world, the witness within the temporal order. This concern sometimes seems to be carried so far in this direction that it calls in question the nature of the Church as a community whose calling is also to preserve faithfully the message and not only to take it to the world.

'Communal' People

The distinction between the "laity" and the "Christian people" calls for clarification. Speaking generally, every Christian believer who has entered into the mystery of the Church and is a member of the ecclesial community with the duties pertaining to such

membership is considered as part of the Christian people. The laity consists of those who have not received, in addition to baptism, the ordination authorizing them to exercise ministry in the Church. The active participation of the laity in the development of a synod in order that its decisions may be 'orthodox' is primordial. This has often been lost sight of in speaking of the Church as a community of believers and again when the baptismal priesthood and the ministerial priesthood are rather naively set in mutual opposition.

We must carefully distinguish between these two different senses of one and the same word so as to avoid all ambiguity: "the people" (*laos*) can signify either "the whole body," the *corpus christianum* with its articulated structure, or "the people" as over against the clergy (priesthood), the ministry, the hierarchy.

The ancient fathers of the Church agree in rejecting any external organ, authority or mediation which is set above the Church rather than in the midst of the Church. In their view the Church's infallibility cannot be that of a "separate organ" — of a council, for example — but only the truth of the Church itself as lived by the whole body.

Any attempt to substitute for "the infallibility of the Pope" the "infallibility of the episcopate or of the synod" would still fail to meet the main Orthodox objections to even the Roman Church's conceptions of magisterium and infallibility.

If a Synod is to be possible, we must clearly understand and condemn the rationalism which sets the human reason or any guarantee whatsoever in place of mutual love. It is not therefore a synod that will fill the gap, for the gap must be filled before the synod can meet.

Only within the Church, within the continuous life of the Body, does the final discrimination between true and false take place. It is not the synods which do this, or any other official authority. The truth was not discovered by the synods, for it had never been lost; the fact is rather that in the synods it was once again acknowledged and solemnly proclaimed. And the value of these conciliar proclamations does not lie in their "ecumenical" character but specifically in their catholicity.

The infallibility of the Church appertains to the Church itself: once infallibility appertains to the Church and the Church to it, to use the term *ex sese*, this rules out any possibility of it appertaining to any organ whatsoever, whether collective or embodied in a

single person.

This difference in conception of the magisterium necessarily implies a different assessment of the distinctive function of the whole of the faithful in the Church. It helps to underline here what was said earlier about the difference between "Christian people" and the "laity."

Other differences of the same order equally contribute to this assessment. From the standpoint of the patristic authors, the ministerial priesthood is not outside the Church, but it is a service rendered to the whole Body of the Church. The episcopate is within the Church. The sacraments are the work of the whole Church in one individual, however unworthy. The mediation of Mary cannot be isolated from that of Christ, nor from that of the whole incarnation.

Consider the Encyclical Letter of the Eastern Patriarchate dated 6 May 1848. In this reply to an Encyclical of Pius IX they solemnly declare:

Infallibility has resided only in the universality of the Church united by mutual love; and the invariability of doctrine as well as purity of worship were entrusted to the keeping not of any hierarchy but to that of the whole ecclesial people which is the Body of Christ. Among us it is the whole body of the Church which safeguards the religion, i.e. it is the people itself which seeks to preserve the faith intact.

Once authority has become an external power, once knowledge of religious truth has become independent of the religious life, once man is no longer linked to man except by bonds of common submission instead of by a common soul, the very first doubt expressed as to the legitimacy of the supreme power of Rome destroys unity. Unity now is nothing more than an appeal to the "external" reason, to an "external" authority, to an "external" institution.

Only Christ exists "above" the Church. There is also a [Protestant] error, namely, to place the Gospel above the community of the Church, whereas it should be found within the Church. For if the Bible is placed above the Church, the danger is that it is no longer read within the Church. To defend the contribution, share and accord of God's people in respect of the results of a synod, the Fathers see the outpouring of the Spirit on the whole Church as a sign of the anchoring of the ministerial priesthood in the total-

ity of the ecclesial body. The ministry and the priesthood are within the Church, not above it or outside it.

Decisions made by the prophetic and royal functions of the Church can only be accepted as they have been accepted by the faithful. Defending the “unity in plurality” we reject on the other hand the notion of a power above the local church on which the latter would be dependent, for such a power would be outside the Church and be a power over the Church of God. Power over a local church would mean power over a eucharistic assembly, in other words, over Christ himself.

For the Western Tradition, a return to a more organic ecclesiology in which the concept of communion would once again become central and a new emphasis be placed on the role of the Holy Spirit would be tantamount to an ecumenical convergence towards Orthodoxy. Is it not here that we are to seek the origin over an over-elaborate “explanation” — namely, to a large extent, in this analytical spirit which tends to consider realities separately and in isolation from the whole?

In the history of the West we observe a tendency to isolate authority from the community or the agencies from the body whose agencies they are.

Re-reading the anti-Roman polemics of certain Byzantine authors, we sense in them the conviction that the refusal of the Western Church to regard the Eastern Church as an equal — particularly at the time when the *filioque* clause was inserted into the Creed of the undivided Church was not unconnected with the tendency of this same Roman Church to develop inequalities at the very heart of its own structures. As those authors saw it, both these tendencies rested on the same “abandonment of the bond of love,” gradually replaced in the West by compulsion in one or the other form: “external unity,” “rational arguments,” “external guarantees,” “juridical bonds.” A key phrase here is: “The faith is not preserved where love has become impoverished.” These words will seem severe when we recall that they were applied to the Latin Church, yet we are here at the very heart of the significance of the separation of West and East for many Orthodox thinkers.

Special Ministries or the Whole Body?

Orthodox theology has always insisted that the truth and calling of a synod are not just the concern of an élite of specialist theologians or a group of bishops, but that on the contrary, the whole

family of the baptized is involved and bears joint responsibility for them. For these decisions affect the whole people. The synod is summoned in order to study the problems and the needs of the whole people. The laity should therefore know what is going on, and be well-informed. This obviously implies the need for a parallel education, adequate information and effective communication between the synod and the faithful. The synod is not an assembly behind closed doors, secret and mysterious.

Orthodoxy has for this reason strongly reproached Western theology with having created a dichotomy and a separation between a “teaching” Church and a “learning” Church (between *ecclesia docens* and *ecclesia discens*). The result of this distinction is often its presentation as an opposition between a more privileged directing Church and a directed and “obedient” Church, or again, between an “active” and a “passive” Church.

To rightly understand the Orthodox position, some remarks must be made about the strictly sacerdotal functions. The ministry as such is undoubtedly reserved to a few who have a special calling and a charism given them by their sacramental ordination. So, too, the pastoral charge is a responsibility which is not entrusted to all. All baptized members without distinction share in the life of faith, in the Eucharist, and thus become jointly responsible for the preservation of the faith, for its dissemination and defense against errors of all times, being all called to believe, and all called to witness to the common faith, and because of their participation in the life of the Church must interest themselves in its health, in its problems, in the changes taking place and in the steps to be taken for its growth and stability.

Every baptized person, however highly placed on the hierarchical ladder, however humble his status and situation in society, turn by turn teaches and is taught the truth. God distributes his gifts to whom he pleases, without distinction of functions or persons. Nor is it only by the word that the truth is taught, but by a person’s whole life. To recognize no teaching other than that of logical argument is a definition of rationalism. The truth must therefore be seen as the work of all Christians. The Gospel is addressed to all and to each. For if we separate the *consilia* from the *praeceptia* we shatter the unity of the Christian ideal. We must, however, distinguish very clearly between the function of bishops – “judges of the faith” – and that of the laity – “defenders of the faith.” Among the bishops there is a certain charism to guarantee the faith in its

authenticity, but the defense of the faith is the business of the whole community. The Spirit of Truth dwells in the body of the baptized united by the bond of love. While it may normally find expression on the lips of those who have a charism for teaching, i.e. the bishops, it nevertheless strictly appertains to the Church as a body.

To summarize, we must distinguish between the preservation of the faith and the definition and proclamation of the faith. The truth is guarded by the whole Body, but it is the ministry alone which is authorized to bear authentic witness to the truth, based on a charismatic continuity of the Church which is ensured specifically by the apostolic succession.

At the heart of the mystery of this unanimity we find the fact that all the faithful together constitute a eucharistic community. They have the same root and the same center — Christ. The Eucharist establishes an authentic community among them, just as long ago the Sinai covenant created the people of Israel. St. Augustine's comment is apposite here: "Who could fail to be impressed by such a congruence and at the same time such a distance?"¹⁹

Discordant Opinions

For centuries in the West the impression was given that the clergy were the Church, full stop, as if the ordinary Christians were no more than a kind of spiritual proletariat lacking any voice or active responsibility within the Church, and no charismatic maturity. We have to ask how it lives in practice today, this ideal of the community of the baptized and collegiality. There is a close connection and complementarity between the reassessment of the episcopal function and the function of the laity. In the Fathers, the close and profound connection between the two functions is clear. The laity receive the faith and defend it while the episcopate defines and formulates it. The "girdle" is in the Church in its totality and this is why the capacity to distinguish between the truth and error, to verify and to witness (I Thess. 5.19, 21), has been granted to all. This defense is even the supreme duty of every member of the Body of Christ.

Describing the participation of the laity is one thing; applying it is another. For it can often happen that reactions occur affecting even the unity of the Church if certain lay people are not inspired by a sincere faith and set out to manipulate certain conciliar decisions in order to bolster up their own egotism and to serve the

interests of others. Even today we observe a certain "crisis of authority" provoked by "avant-garde" interpretations of the decrees of the Second Vatican Council or, again, by over-timid interpretations of the Council.

What is amiss here is the rather naive conception of authority and obedience as if these were "external" realities. The inner authority of the conscience and the inspiration of the Holy Spirit for *all* the people of God is not taken into account. The importance of the *sensus fidei* should be given its due place. When thinking of the authority and the opinion of the whole Christian family, the *pleroma*, we should make a clear distinction between the different *diaconias* which are based on two orders of responsibility. The laity need to become more aware of their share in the *sensus fidei* and thus avoid this division between progressives and conservatives as found, for example, in the post-Vatican II period, a division which is improper. This difference of psychological attitudes should not lead to a disparity in positions.

There is another danger. I am thinking of the tendency of opinion "outside the Synod" to regard the Synod as a failure on the ground that it is thought not to have produced a sufficiently profound renewal, nor a sufficiently far-reaching one. This restlessness proves that the term "renewal" can be used by people in very different contexts. It is difficult and perhaps impossible to plot the precise demarcation lines which certain "modernists" transgress in respect of the Church's structures by reducing all the world's religions to the same level. A Synod cannot escape criticisms coming from outside the Synod and against the Synod.

Reactions such as these, though coming from a minority, can endanger the necessary dynamism of synodal efforts. Yet such a small fragment of opinion is not decisive. The real point is the role of opinion within the Church itself. In respect of this opinion within the Church, communication will play a major role in creating understanding of the decisions taken. We are still giving too little thought to this role of communication in the maintenance of a real circulation of the blood within the Church. We must help people to understand that in Orthodoxy, it is not enough to appeal emotionally for the obedience of Christians, or to maintain the exercise of authority. The important thing to which we must give priority is the extent to which a synod will be accepted and endorsed responsibly by the whole people of God.

It is true that public opinion sometimes is tempted to bring

about a mobocracy, controlling spiritual matters, with the badly-informed and badly-trained masses monopolizing the discussion. If the laity are to participate worthily they must become qualitatively improved, i.e. spiritually mature and well-equipped. It is the Church as guardian of the faith which must discern the degree to which our faithful are competent to pronounce judgment on this or that subject. Opinion polls within the Church are not as determinative as a political secular referendum.

There is a proverb which says: "We use a sounding line to explore the ocean bed. If the sounder is slimy when drawn up it means that the sea bed is slimy, if muddy, then the sea bed is muddy. If nothing is brought up, it means the line is too short." To appraise an opinion poll, we have to remember the development of a plan which leads to this or that final result. The poll raises in fact a question of spirituality, of ecclesial conscience. Does the opinion really exist before it has been solicited to express itself by being asked questions? Is it not simply a reaction to a seductive word, a "stimulus"? Trick questions sometimes reveal disturbing gaps or a bluff. Assuming it exists, is this opinion really anything other than a cliché or a vague impression? An opinion of which one is conscious is different from the jelly-like sediment which does service for opinion but is in fact only a superficial mode of thinking, looking for facile and even improper solutions designed to please certain people and satisfy ephemeral fashions.

It is difficult to accept the suggestions of the laity unreservedly since they are often presented in a language which leads to confusion. The confusion with which their opinions are expressed calls for paternal intervention by the pastors. There are limits to the views of the people. It will be disastrous if the Church lets itself be swept along by the unruly movements of the masses. What we have here is, once again, pure demagoguery, mobocracy. Indeed, in this case the Church has a duty to bar excesses and abuses in defense of the true spirit of participation by the people of God and of the faith against assaults from without and within. Only in this way can a synod be constituted.

NOTES

1. Codex 1.3.45.
2. Cyprian, *De unitate*, c. 5.

3. *Adv. Haer.* 3.3.2.
4. *Commonitorium primum*, 22; PL 50.668-69.
5. Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 1.9; PG 67.85.
6. Greg. Magni, Epist. 1.25; 3.10; 4.38 – *sic quatuor Synodos Sanctae universalis Ecclesiae sicut quatuor libros sancti Evangelii recipimus* = We accept the doctrines of the said four holy synods as four books of the holy Gospel.
7. Isid. Pelus, 4.99 on Nicaea, and Leo of Rome, Epist. 3, Mansi 6.228.
8. Leo of Rome, Epist. 105 and 106; Mansi, 6.196, 201; Ambrose, *De Fide* 3.15; PL 16. 639.
9. Epist. 114; PG 32.529.
10. Zigab. 1 Cor. 12.29f.; Chrys., *ibid.* 20, on 1 Cor., Hom. 30.3; Monf. 10.319; Damasc., *ibid.* PG 95.672.
11. 1 Cor. 12.13.
12. Hom. 30 on 1 Cor.; PG 61.250, 251.
13. Hom. on Eph.; PG 62.81.
14. Ex. 19.6; 2 Sam. 6.6f.
15. Note: Chrys., Hom. 1.2; PG 59.93 and 2 Cor. Hom. 18.3; PG 61.527.
16. *Strom.* 6.13.
17. Rev. 4.4.
18. J. Karmires, *Ta dogmatika mnemeia*, 2, p. 920.
19. *De spiritu et littera*, 16.28.

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CULTURAL *PARADOSIS* AND ORTHODOX AMERICA

We are accustomed to seeing the Greek word *paradosis*, or tradition, as a touchstone of Orthodox theology. What the Lord gave us, what the Holy Apostles preached, and what the Fathers of the Church preserved, as Saint Athanasios expressed it, are the very foundations of what we call Orthodoxy—they are its ‘tradition.’ Tradition expresses truth. All opinion, speculation, and creativity in theological thought must be measured against the criterion of Holy Tradition. Given the singular ascendancy of the concept of tradition for the Orthodox Christian, then, we might be startled at the words ‘cultural *paradosis*.’ After all, Holy Tradition is something meant for all times, for all places, and for all peoples. Holy Tradition, Orthodoxy itself, is somehow above culture. Its frame of reference is not only existential, but precisely away from the mere human culture. It draws us toward that non-earthly ‘homeland’ to which Saint John Chrysostomos calls us. How, indeed, can the Orthodox Christian give serious attention to the concerns of cultural tradition, given the preeminent imperatives presented by Holy Tradition?

If we are startled at the notion of a cultural *paradosis*, our shock might well reflect a certain spiritual malaise which we Americans, being so young in our Orthodoxy, tend all too often to ignore or to fail to discover in ourselves. An anecdote from the ancient desert fathers might help us to understand this spiritual foible. A young spiritual aspirant was once allowed by his elder to go into the city. On his journey he passed a magnificent monastery where he heard the brothers speaking of great and marvelous theological precepts. He thought to himself how humble and unimportant his own spiritual life was, centered, as it was, around the simple practice of the Jesus Prayer (“Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me a sinner”). Returning to his elder, he expressed his marvel at the monastery he had seen on his journey to the city. His elder, a man of great spiritual power, summoned the young monk after some time and directed him to make another journey into the city. The aspirant obediently followed his elder’s directions and set out for the city. It happened that, just as he came to the monastery

which he had seen on his previous visit, the earth began to tremble. Fearing the earthquake, the monks of the monastery poured out of their cells in full sight of the travelling aspirant. As they fled, the young traveller heard each monk say, "Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me a sinner." Foreseeing the earthquake, the monk's elder had sent him on this journey to learn a profound lesson.

And what did the young monk learn? He learned that long before one may speak of great theological precepts, he must know basic spiritual practice. Without the foundation of personal spiritual experience, the great structure of theological theory cannot stand. And if the structure of theological theory begins to fall, the final refuge of the mature Christian is that personal spiritual practice. In the moment of crisis, it was not to high-sounding theology that the city monks had turned, but to the simplicity of the practice which the desert monk embraced. So it is that here in America we tend to look at Orthodoxy's exalted Holy Tradition, taking pride in our knowledge of Orthodox history, dogma, and doctrine, all the while forgetting that this tradition has reached us through historical reality, through our forefathers, through our cultural *paradosis*. To know Orthodoxy as the 'cultureless' culture, as timeless Holy Tradition, we must first know it as it is practically given to us: through the customs, habits, and world-views of our Orthodox forefathers, be they Greek, Russian, Serbian, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Syrian, or whatever.

The 'Old Country' Phenomenon

Any Orthodox Christian in America is for a moment discomforted by the notion that the things of the 'old country' are somehow essential to his reception of Orthodoxy itself. But this discomfort comes to us because social realities have for some time prevented most of us from reflecting maturely and objectively on our cultural heritage. From early Greek settlements in Nebraska to Slavic communities in the Eastern urban centers, almost all Orthodox have felt the sting of prejudice and, to some extent, social alienation. Our natural inclination has been to blend into the American social fabric and to accomodate those traits which make us suspect to the more prevailing culture. This blending and this accomodation have brought a certain acceptance to Orthodoxy in America and one recoils at the thought of losing that safe social status. But we must realize that, more importantly, we have paid

a great price in losing many of the things which our cultural oddities brought, not the least of which is a certain subtle Orthodox spirit which permeated the 'old country' mentality and traditions. Realizing this, we must now use the relative safety which our assimilation into American life has afforded us as a sense of security in which we can regain freely much of what we have lost.

Orthodoxy is a way of life, a spiritual path, by which the whole of the human creature is caught up in divinity, transformed, united to Christ, and created anew. In the hesychastic tradition of the Church, we are constantly struck with the notion that the mind and its thoughts, the body and its actions, the individual and society are somehow basically integrated. Their correct and harmonious interaction are the very expressions of spiritual attainment. Orthodoxy, then, is more than a religion or the organization of a religious community; it is at once a human culture and a divine manifestation. As the Byzantines beautifully envisaged human society (a vision so terribly distorted by prejudice and misunderstanding in Western historiography), it expressed in human dimension the magnificence and beauty of Paradise. In the *pleroma* of the Orthodox experience, society (be it the microcosmic society of a church community or the macrocosmic Orthodox imperial societies of Byzantium or Russia), in its ideal expression, lifts up the mundane and unites it to the heavenly in synergy and image. No single culture serves itself, but serves to express the Eternal Orthodox Culture. And, as Khomiakov so beautifully phrased it, man ceases to be isolated, alienated individual; he is lifted up in the whole, saved only together with others, damned only in his individuality.

The 'old country' mentality and tradition preserved much of this higher view of Orthodoxy in daily life. How seldom we think that the very foods passed down by our 'old country' cultures are not simply foods created by individual taste and topography. Not at all. They are foods which developed according to the canons of the church fasts. They are foods (e.g., *kulich* among the Russians, *vasilopita* among the Greeks, and wheat and honey in all Orthodox nationalities) that surround a great celebration of the Church, often expressing even a theological understanding of some particular feast day or church service (as in the case of boiled wheat to represent the resurrection of the dead at memorial services for the departed). Individual taste is largely set aside to serve the eternal truths of the Faith. Food is raised up from the mundane and made holy. Likewise in customs of dress we transcend personal taste and exalt the spiritual. Not so much out of morbidity do

Orthodox traditionally mourn the dead by wearing black clothing, but out of an understanding that death must be always remembered and present to us in order to balance our reception of life. We are drawn by the mourning families who are visible to us, into an understanding of our common fate. We are further motivated to seek our comfort and hope, not in the passing tastes of society, but in events (such as death) which must guide our social lives. Then, too, in the traditional dress of the clergy (which is lamantably almost unknown here in America) we see before us the image of the patriarchs and prophets who call us away from the temporal to the enduring things of eternity. In the 'old country' culture we find ourselves immersed in that blending of the spiritual and the mundane which should be the everyday Orthodox experience, not the experience of an Orthodoxy which we are ever faster relegating to the Sunday service.

We must say here, too, something about traditional Orthodox culture and language. Perhaps nowhere else do we have a more unbalanced view of what it means to be Orthodox and to be American. With fierce emotions we often proclaim the right of English-speaking Orthodox to have the services in their own language, decrying the use of the traditional languages as the source of every ill in the Church. The young people do not understand the services. The essence of Orthodoxy is lost because of an incomprehensible Liturgy. What we must first understand is that Americans do, indeed, have a right to the Liturgy in English. But this right must be asserted and claimed correctly. If our young do not want to hear the Orthodox message, the use of English will solve nothing. (The experience of English-speaking parishes suggests in many cases that this contention is correct.) Those who truly want to know the Church at a deeper level would never abandon the Church because of language. All of us can in a few months learn enough of the liturgical languages in our Churches to understand the basic nature of the services. Moreover, good Greek-English, Slavonic-English, Arabic-English and other parallel texts are readily available. We must not confuse those who would use language as an excuse to flee their responsibilities to learn their Orthodox Faith with those who want a deeper understanding of the Faith they already feel in their hearts through their own tongue.

Nor should we forget that the traditional liturgical languages cannot be abandoned althgether. To seek repentance in the Orthodox Church does not carry along with it the same implications and

meaning that such a quest has for the Protestant or Roman Catholic. We can use, then, for example, an understanding of the Greek word *metanoia* (a changing of mind or outlook) to express the particularly Orthodox view of repentance. Our traditional language has come to serve us theologically; it has become something more than a mere language. In the same way, the Slavonic language (and other Orthodox liturgical languages) have preserved words which perfectly express Orthodox theological notions unknown in the West or misleading in translation. If, as civilized individuals, we at least recognize the importance of knowing other languages in learning of other people, we should not abandon a clear recognition of the fact that Orthodoxy, too, speaks its own languages. We should know these. And finally, we must never think that the services themselves are merely literal. If our traditional languages can serve us, they also have their limits. The most authentic experience of the Liturgy and the Church services, after all, takes place noetically, mystically, outside time and space. The truest form of Orthodox worship comes to us through our culture and then transcends form, image, and all dimensions of the literal. We are transported to a new realm, where language, expression, and human action have an altogether different content and intent.

If we wish to attain to the highest understanding of Orthodoxy, there is no doubt that we have to draw on the 'old country' cultures which expressed this understanding. If America has a culture (and many sociologists and anthropologists would argue that it does not), that culture is not Orthodox. It was not created to serve the Orthodox world-view. It is in many ways incompatible with the Orthodox view. In time, perhaps, an Orthodox culture might grow up in America. But at this juncture, we have no choice but to retreat, whether temporarily or permanently, to those cultures which were shaped by their interaction with the holy. We must regain the priceless crucible in which our divine saints and holy fathers were formed. As difficult as it may be for us Orthodox in America to understand, the true expression of our Faith does demand the rejection of much of the witless, plastic, and soul-destroying mediocrity of American society. This may mean, ultimately, a change in our styles of dress, in our manner of eating, and in our general self-presentation. But this, after all, is what Orthodoxy is: what we eat, how we speak, how we stand, how we sit, indeed how we understand ourselves and others. If we succeed in regaining this view and this cultural tradition, the benefits may accrue, not only to us, but to America itself.

Converts and Orthodox Culture

Regaining our Orthodox cultural traditions is crucial for those Americans who received their Orthodoxy from their emigrant forefathers. But if it is crucial for those with at least some exposure to that tradition, it is for the convert to Orthodoxy in America a *sine qua non* of successful growth in Orthodoxy that he adopt many of these same cultural traditions. In many instances we have failed at teaching the growing number of converts to Orthodoxy in this country the fullness of the Orthodox experience. We have touched them with a surface-level Orthodoxy, forming our witness into something akin to a doctrinal or theological alternative to the prevailing Western Christian traditions to which most Americans adhere. In effect, not wholly grasping ourselves the fullness of the Orthodox experience, we have presented the convert population with a religious alternative modelled on a non-Orthodox scheme. The result is that many converts live with an incomplete Orthodoxy as a culture that the offspring of Orthodox emigrants experience. They cannot even intuit in most cases this fuller Orthodoxy. Such an Orthodoxy cannot fully serve them and stands to suffer from the same foibles as the prevalent Christian witnesses, lacking as they do a full integration of their theological precepts and religious consciousness into daily life, into cultural tradition—an integration which Orthodoxy holds up as its practical means of transmitting the Faith to generation after generation.

The convert might object, indeed, to the thought of having to adopt an Orthodox culture as a prerequisite for the reception of the Orthodox Faith. “Must I become a Greek, or a Russian, or a Serbian, or so on?” might be the rhetorical response to this prerequisite. The answer is, to some extent, “yes.” That we separate Orthodoxy from its cultural medium is already evidence that we have lost a great dimension of Orthodoxy, as we have said. But just as importantly, it is essential to remember that conversion to a true Christianity is the denial of secular culture, the acceptance of a new culture formed by detachment from the world and Christian involvement in it—Saint Paul’s paradoxical state of being “in” but not “of” the world. This new culture is the very culture which Orthodox societies, however successfully or unsuccessfully, have attempted to build. We are bound by the Christian experience to accept and follow those attempts. They are our one step out of the world while being in it. American society, not built on these same attempts, is not compatible with Orthodoxy. The realization of this heavy and stark reality is no more threatening to us than

it was to the Greeks (and subsequently all other Orthodox peoples) when they gave up their pagan cultures and accepted the Christian culture of the Hellenic world.

It is not too much, thus, to ask of the convert that he remain loyal to his country (rendering unto Caesar that which is Caesar's) while, at the same time, adopting a new culture and new traditions better suited to the expression and preservation of his Orthodox Faith. This is not a restrictive requirement, but one which brings the convert Orthodox spiritually into a new dimension as well as intellectually into contact with some of the most profound pillars of the edifice of human civilization. The adoption of traditional styles of eating and dress lends itself to the expression of Orthodox spirituality. It provides a context in which association with the secularized world is predefined from an Orthodox stance. And it provides, at the same time, knowledge of the Christian ancients, of Greek and Slavic civilization, and of the deep, theologically-developed languages in which the Truth of truths was articulated. To be sure, an adoption of a traditional Orthodox culture expands the American convert to Orthodoxy in every way, the end result being, perhaps sometime in the future, the actual creation of a particularly American expression of these cultures.

We might note here that in one other way the Orthodox convert is called to a mature view of Orthodox cultural traditions. If it is essential that some cultural medium for the expression and preservation of Orthodoxy be realized, it is equally essential that the constant emphasis in this realization is on medium and purpose, not on the cultural traditions as ends in themselves. All too often in our age of the 'coy primitive,' a few 'converts' are attracted to Orthodoxy by the very cultural traditions to which most converts lack essential exposure. These individuals find the 'different' ways of the Orthodox strangely appealing or 'quaint.' They too lack exposure to true Orthodox cultural traditions, for these traditions separated from the spiritual purposes that they serve are false traditions. Anyone converted on such a basis is not converted to the life-giving essence of Orthodoxy, but to cultural diletantism. Orthodox cultural traditions are lifted up and participate in the holy only because they serve the Orthodox Christian in his divine ascent and in his simple attempts to live a pious, peaceful, and Christian life on earth. As such they are invaluable. As simple human traditions, they have no meaning to the Christian. In their spirit, these traditions help the aspirant in his God-pleasing life; by their letter, they lead to the perdition of merely human thought

and taste.

The Parameters of Genuine Orthodox Culture

It is perhaps auspicious that we began this essay with reference, not to simple tradition, but to Holy Tradition and its expression through Orthodox cultural traditions. In so doing, we have made spiritual considerations paramount in our references to those traditions. Just as the Orthodox convert must receive the cultural medium of the Orthodox Faith in the sense of that culture's facilitation of spiritual growth and maturity, we must now emphasize boldly the responsibility of those born to Orthodox cultures (whether in the native cultural environment or in diaspora) to receive those aspects of their cultural traditions which are indeed designed to serve spiritual needs. Cultural traditions can lose the spiritual dimension which originally engendered them. But at the same time, there exist cultural traditions, despite the goals and ideals of its spiritual leaders, which never reflected (nor were intended to reflect) the precepts of traditional Orthodox society. The responsibility of those born into an Orthodox milieu is to begin to distinguish these mundane traditions from the spiritual ones and to protect both their own scion and the convert population by this distinction.

In this respect, the greatest caution should be exercised, in recovering our lost traditions, in turning to modern Orthodox societies. Many true traditions have survived from the 'old country,' but, as we have noted, not all that is 'old country' is authentic. And often what is authentic must be properly understood, since most modern Orthodox societies have lost the spiritual perspective. Modern Greek society, for example, has undergone great secularization and has been very negatively influenced, in many instances, by Western (and thus non-Orthodox) concepts. Until a very recent renewal of interest in patristics, even much of the academic theology in Greece had little if any relationship to the subtle mystical theology which distinguishes the Eastern Church. Priests and lay theologians were taught systematic theologies of Western origin and were often encouraged to pursue 'scientific' empirical views of the religious experience which almost wholly ignored the astounding richness of traditional Orthodox theology. As well, years of brutal enslavement of the Greek people under the Turkish yoke took a yet uncalculated toll on the magnificent Orthodox society of the late Byzantine period. Much of the richness of Orthodox tradition was lost. In such circumstances, it is not dif-

difficult to see why a frightful degeneration of Orthodox cultural traditions took place. The presence of foreign mentalities, both in the sense of a Western intellectual captivity in theology and in the sense of a literal captivity politically and socially, led to the loss of many important traditions. Simultaneously, those traditions which did survive survived in circumstances which changed, at times, the essential nature of these traditions—a nature which would have been organically present in the hegemony of the holy and the mundane characteristic of pure Orthodox social structure.

In the Slavic traditions, too (especially in Russia), the traditional Orthodox societies, in which cultural traditions were made apparent in their spiritual content by the very functioning of society, have disappeared to a great extent. The majority of the Orthodox Church today labors under the yoke of Communist domination. Even where the Church does speak, it is either speaking with the real threat of martyrdom (and thus in an atmosphere of immediacy lost to us in the West who are free) or through the channels of an atheistic regime. The resulting witness must be cautiously approached. Even before the horrible political conditions that now exist fell over the Orthodox of Eastern Europe, much Western influence had diluted the extant holy societies. Mystical iconography had come to be replaced with insipid Western painting. Systematic Western theologies, though somewhat less blatant than those in contemporary Greece, were popular in Russia. And a very romanticized view of Russian aristocratic society (perhaps prompted by the real piety of the Russian nobles at different times in history) has tended to obfuscate what many see as some very un-Orthodox threads in the fabric of Russian imperial society. Again, in such circumstances one must not be naive and cling to what he wishes were true. There are among the Slavic Orthodox, also, many traditions which should not be accepted as expressive of the Orthodox mentality and therefore not conducive to proper spiritual growth.

(Paranetically it seems necessary here to interject several qualifying remarks regarding the foregoing paragraphs. Especially in America, where study of the history of Orthodox countries is less developed, one is hesitant to decry any aspect of that history or of Orthodox culture. The prejudices that might ensue would be unfair. We are attempting here to extract from these Orthodox societies their spiritual essence. In so doing, we have been cautious and critical. In this process, however, the Western reader should

not forget that these societies are among the greatest that man has ever developed. Whatever their shortcomings, even their secular triumphs are a witness to Orthodox history. It is from the Greeks that the West received Christianity. The Russian people civilized a vast part of Eastern Europe. Greek literary figures today continue to gain world recognition. The Slavic countries are virtual centers of world culture even under domination by the Communists. One need only mention Dostoevsky to epitomize the blending of philosophy, literature, and culture with Orthodox spirituality, and the trenchant observations of Solzhenitsyn regarding Western society suggest the continued ascendancy of the Orthodox culture and spirit.)

The weaknesses of traditional Orthodox societies were brought by emigrants to America, too. They brought with them a weakened Orthodox mentality and, in many cases, a knowledge of their own cultures in general that was not adequate. If this did not, in itself, augur well for a sound Orthodox spirituality in America, there manifested the unfortunate process of accomodating this already diluted mentality with American culture. And the resulting *mélange*, however disconcerting the fact, has influenced the growth of Orthodoxy in America to no small extent. The resulting 'cultural tradition' is thus spurious from its very inception. This spurious 'tradition' is yet another danger to which we must attend, in our attempts to regain a truly Orthodox tradition. Suffice it to say that many young Orthodox often cannot distinguish a prayer rope from 'worry beads.' And when they finally discover the difference, they hear the prayer rope described as a 'rosary.' They make association with a distinct Western practice with no relationship to the Jesus Prayer, or central practice of the hesychastic tradition, and thus create, from information resulting from ignorance of an ancient Orthodox tradition, a new and wholly improper understanding of an important part of Orthodox spirituality. The list could continue from the 'Mass' through 'Last Rites.' The point is that we do not have an authentic Orthodox cultural tradition in America and that the so-called 'traditions' that we do know come to us in distorted form.

We can conclude, from our discussion, that Orthodox spirituality is transferred through a cultural medium and that the cultural traditions passed on to us from Orthodox societies can facilitate our personal spiritual growth. A mentality handed down to us from societies that modelled daily life after spiritual principles is a prerequisite for survival in a non-Orthodox society. At the

same time, we must be realistic and understand that all that has been passed down from the 'old country' is not Orthodox, not only because historical realities have eroded away ideal Orthodox societies, but because not every Orthodox Christian fully receives and transmits genuine tradition. Finally, we have said that in America a false Orthodox culture has emerged, based, not on genuine Orthodox cultural traditions, but on distorted traditions accommodated to Western models and thus not expressive of the Orthodox spirit. What, therefore, does it mean to recapture an 'old country' mentality, and Orthodox cultural *paradosis*, if such does not exist in pure form? Where is the elusive cultural medium of Orthodox spirituality?

The Person and the Trans-personal Consensus

Amidst our qualifications and cautions, we have, in fact, given a clue as to the path to true Orthodox cultural traditions. All traditions of a genuine spiritual nature, it has been suggested, must relate to the spiritual life. Let us consider this first on the personal level. At the outset we noted that the adoption of 'old country' habits of eating and drinking can facilitate fasting and one's religious outlook. Dressing modestly and removing oneself from the prevailing secular culture are personal requisites for fulfilling some of the most fundamental commandments of Christian life. We know by religious instruction, if not by a certain intuitive sense, what basic behaviors are necessary to separate us from society at large and to nurture our spiritual faculties. Certain Church regulations regarding our moral and daily behaviors are known to us. We know how they relate to the increase of our spiritual desires and the attenuation of our less seemly motivations. If we monitor this inward knowledge, then we have a sure way, if we are honest and seek inward guidance, of what cultural traditions handed down to us lead to the expression of genuine Orthodox spirituality. This is as obvious in every case as it is in the case of incorporating into our lives dietary traditions from the 'old country' that by nature fashion our eating habits to meet fasting regulations. It is as obvious as the spiritual benefit offered to those Orthodox who celebrate the Nativity of Christ on January 7 (new style), following the traditional calendar of the Church, outside of the din and the merry ring of the cash register that mark the Christmas on December 25.

There is, above the merely personal level, a far greater criterion by which to know the genuinely Orthodox from the secular tra-

ditions of degenerating societies: that of the spiritual father, the *gerontas*, or the *staretz*. These God-bearing elders, having been raised up and joined to the mystical spirit of Orthodoxy, are perfect guides. Knowing the hearts of those Christians who appeal to them, they can give them daily guides and rules that surely set them on the road toward spiritual enlightenment and a peaceful, pious life. These fathers, speaking with one single voice through the mouths of the Apostles and the fathers of the Church up to our time, are, after all, the final source of our cultural traditions. Their instructions helped shape Orthodox societies. But sadly, we live in a very barren age spiritually. Though there are still great spiritual fathers in our times, there are probably few, if any, in America. And if any exist, as most spiritual aspirants agree, they are probably silent and hidden.

Where, then, do we turn to find these trans-personal criteria for understanding what is and what is not Orthodox tradition? We turn to the only fathers we have—dead, yet living. We turn to the growing body of English-language translations of the spiritual fathers of the Church, or, if we are fortunate enough to know or to have learned a traditional Orthodox language, to the great spiritual writings that the Church has passed on to us. And yet even this is wrought with deadly dangers. Many Fathers speak from elevated experience and we must not aspire to their heights without first building a foundation. Then, too, we might come to a merely intellectual understanding of the great Fathers, turning arrogantly to certain salutary traditions as being too primitive or crude for us. We can avoid these dangers only by seeing the Fathers in a spiritual light, looking for a certain inner spirit and sense of humility that true cultural traditions will also reveal to us. Thus we must follow Orthodox traditions (it is perhaps safe to begin with fasting), seeking to avoid anything innovative, yet humbly remaining open to correction, not in this greater sense exercising our personal opinion. As our reading of the fathers, prayer, and growth in God's grace increase, the harmony between our practices (in terms of cultural traditions) and what they yield and the spirit we find in prayer and reading will be apparent. In an automatic way, truth becomes self-validating and true Orthodox tradition becomes self-evident. But the very foundations of this spiritual ascent are the acceptance (with the caution suggested above) of the cultural traditions in which Orthodoxy had prevailed and, above all, humble submission to the consensus of the fathers.

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HIS EMINENCE ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS

FACING THE EIGHTIES

Rejoice ever more
Pray without ceasing
in everything give thanks;
For this is the will of God in
Christ Jesus concerning you.
(1 Th. 5.16-18)

General Introduction

Rejoice my beloved ones, over the privilege of being, not only the stewards of the faith once delivered to the Saints, but also sharers with those within the fold and without it. For this in essence is the faith proclaimed and professed by all who live in God, who move in God, and who have their being in God.

Pray without ceasing for you are among the people who desire nothing as much as being in communion with God, dialoguing with Him, always asking for guidance, as you progress along the way towards the future. A future which I am sure you would like to be void of fears and uncertainties and filled with hopes and glorious dreams.

In everything give thanks for very few people have been, and continue to be, the fortunate recipients of countless blessings such as our culture, our history, and the quality of our traditions and faith. For it is these blessings which enable us to gather the scattered, to compose and constitute not simply an image, but a vital spiritual entity and religious community.

I selected these exhortatory Pauline words not simply to preface my keynote address to this august body assembled here for the Twenty-Fifth Clergy-Laity Congress of our Archdiocese, but also as the theme by which we should be guided in our deliberations as we embark upon the decade of the eighties.

“Facing the Eighties,” is the title of my address and, at the same time, it is our challenge—mine and yours. A challenge which must be met with a mind and a will set towards the revitalization

*Keynote address delivered at the Twenty-Fifth Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America on 30 June 1980 in Atlanta, Georgia.

of our religious inheritance and its expansion and success in a moral and spiritual sense. While we are still standing upon the threshold of the decade, we would do well to think of ourselves as the trustees of a legacy both unparalleled and incomparable. I will not attempt to describe or define the nature of our legacy, for I believe that this is not a time for definitions. Rather, it is a most opportune time for commitment and action. Our Greek legacy compels us to pursue education and excellence, while our Christian legacy commissions us to teach, to baptize, and to commission others to the task of preserving and practicing all things, to do whatsoever Christ has commanded His disciples.

Facing the eighties, therefore, means arming ourselves with the panoply of the Greek Orthodox Faith and rearming our Christian conscience with purity and our mind with the determined will to live our faith in its fulness. For I believe that this is the answer to all the problems which beset our personal lives as well as the life of our church community. Their nature is not simply secular or financial; it is moral and spiritual, pointing to the disarray and contradiction of the principles and values to which we allegedly adhere.

The malaise which we observe in our communities from time to time, is caused in large measure, by a spiritual stagnation. What is terribly needed in our situation is to gather once in a meeting of uplifted souls rejoicing in unity, giving thanks to Him who brought us together, and praying for the Holy Spirit to come as a rushing, mighty wind and fill all the house. Many of you who attend our clergy-laity congresses year in and year out, come here in anticipation of something new, more refreshing and more challenging. Many of you have displayed admirable patience in the hope that a day would come when the spirit of Orthodoxy would imbue our hearts setting them aflame, sending us back home capable of speaking other tongues—tongues which are less pedestrian, less soulless, and less business-oriented than those which we now speak at our community or clergy-laity assemblies.

It is high time that we chart a new course and weave another more Christian pattern for our conventions, conferences, and congresses. Our faith is fashioned along the prototype of the theanthropic nature of its founder, Jesus Christ our Lord. In like manner it concerns itself with all the needs of the soul as well as those of the body, and with problems of a spiritual or a temporal

character. Nothing is so secular that it warrants exclusion. There is therefore, ample opportunity and freedom here for all who would like to speak and conduct themselves as practicing members of the Church. Speaking the truth in love should be the motivation behind our deliberations and the guiding principle of this assembly.

The study of the Greek Orthodox population in the United States conducted by the Gallup Organization and coordinated by the Princeton Religion Research Center, offers us an objective evaluation of who and what we really are. We rate rather high in traditional beliefs, such as the belief in God, the belief in life after death, the sanctity of the family institution, etc. As a Church, as a community and as individuals we have never capitalized on these positive beliefs in order to build a community of conscientious believers. This constitutes in itself another challenge to our present religious awareness and our sense of Christian responsibility and commitment.

Facing the eighties requires a new approach, study and understanding of our own status as well as the course that we should chart in our effort to consolidate the ground upon which we stand.

The time has come for us to disengage from everything that pushes us back into parochialism; engage in all legitimate forms of Christian activism; turn our parishes into agencies of spiritual rearmament; put an end to trivialities and/or rhetoric and action that would eventually downgrade the very existence and activity of the local church community; expunge partiality from our words and deeds; join hands in restructuring the whole community life into full conformity with church order and law; be united among ourselves so that we may combat profiteering by the unscrupulous; close ranks with our Orthodox brethren to promote the ideal and the idea of Christian unity; and call to arms all those who do not shun the responsibility of fighting the good fight.

I would once again ask you to approach the eighties with a cheerful, prayerful and grateful heart and to always be mindful that we are encompassed about with "so great a cloud of witnesses . . . looking unto Jesus, the author and the finisher of our faith" (Heb. 12.1-2). Whatever will transpire here—deliberations, statements and resolutions—everything must be conducted in His name, guided by the thought that all should be beneficiaries, and finally aimed at the advancement of our Church, the expansion of Orthodoxy, the affirmation of our faith, the return of all to God's house-

hold, and to the renewal of our commitment to God, to men, to love, to justice, to peace, to freedom, and to human dignity.

Overview

Following my introduction, in which I briefly tried to analyze the theme or the spirit which must permeate our meetings and discussions, I offer you an overview of the general state of the parishes of our Archdiocese, and concurrently present the problems with which we are confronted. I will attempt to give you a purview of the tri-dimensional picture of our church life, the first of which is administrative, the second financial, the third and most important, spiritual.

I commence with the assertion with which I am sure you agree, that our Church, as a spiritual institution, is not related to stagnation. We have at last left behind us all that is primitive, fearful, uncertain, doubtful and pedestrian. We have been freed from the narrow concept that the community is a secular organization. We have surpassed finally, our one-sidedness in what we do and what we say. Within the vast horizons of this country, within the complex society in which we live, and within the imperatives of the times, we have finally realized that ours is a religious community with a pure and crystallized awareness of our ecclesiastical and ethnic heritage and identity.

We have broken away from the parochialism which we were forced into some fifty years ago—necessitated by the need to establish and balance our community identity. Liberated now from idle parochialism we see unveiled before us the spectrum of our ecclesiastical identity, with all its problems and potential. Our attention must be concentrated on one effort: to preserve our most life-creating and dynamic characteristics, which well assure our survival and our perpetuity.

It would be an inexcusable error if we were not to recognize the dangers which surround us: secularism and materialistic convictions, which relegate the community to an economic or corporate unit. We cannot but be careful of the tendency towards politicization of the community, which is hidden behind the rhetoric of those few who, for supposedly greater freedom and self-rule, understand liberty as a license and not as a state of moral and spiritual liberty provided and safe-guarded by church law and authority. On the other hand, we cannot but be disturbed by the very loose relationship between the ecclesiastical community and a majority of our

youth. To disregard, overlook or neglect this disturbing reality would not honor us, let alone benefit us.

It is because of this sensitivity and anxiety that we are spreading our hands and our concerns in search of principles and values, which would sustain our community and ecclesiastical structure in a more secure manner. So much so that the above cited quest, which restrains and holds us together may be attained within the boundaries of today's reality, without resulting in dangerous experimentation or impulsive and shallow argumentation. This is why we entrusted to the Gallup organization, renowned for its research, studies, statistics, and public opinion polls, to pursue a study of the religiosity and ecclesiastical consciousness of our own Greek-American community. One of the basic and fundamental observations of the poll, is that today we speak of spirituality, wherein yesterday we spoke of religious conformity. Today we are concerned with how the sermon touches our soul, while in the past we judged it simply as a literary text or rhetorical exercise. Our youth, we are told by the poll, seek a communion with the Divine, more compassionate care for their spiritual and psychic needs, and above all, the affectionate reaching out of the priest to their innermost personal anxieties. The poll concludes, that these spiritual anxieties and concerns characterize the majority of the members of our Church. As a phenomenon in its entirety, this should hearten us and not disturb us.

Today's Greek Orthodox Christian is not satisfied with simply attending Divine Liturgy and hearing a sermon once a week. He seeks a more real and frequent communion with God. This is why he responds more readily to every call by our Church for prayer or participation in the sacraments, especially the sacrament of Holy Communion which united the faithful with Christ, and the sacrament of Holy Unction which promises healing and the well-being both of the spirit and of the body.

On the other hand, the Greek Orthodox Christian is becoming more attentive and discerning. He sorts out that which is true and that which is not. He is not easily swayed by falsehoods and malignancies employed by the evil one and those who would undermine Orthodoxy. He knows which Orthodox movements are genuine and authentic and which are para-religious and parapsychological. He is cognizant of those movements concerned with serving him and aware of those which are opportunistic.

There exists a kind of spiritual vigilance among our faithful,

such as never before. Such is the essence of the correct Orthodox spirituality.

We do not refer here to the charismatic movement, to the ministry of healing, to spiritual renewal, or to so-called evangelicalism as threats to Orthodoxy. These movements have since been exposed and identified as purely human ambitions which have lost their in-vogue impressionism and have been proven to be that which they really are: "smart religious businesses" securing personal aggrandizement and material gain.

The Orthodox concept of Christianity is that, as a religion of revelation, a religion of grace, and a religion of truth (Jn. 1.17), it transcends all man-made cults and mythical religions. Christianity wants the faithful to be fully connected with man and God, to such a high degree, so as to unite all that is divided; the soul and the body, the comprehensible and the incomprehensible, the scientific or technological accomplishment and the miracle, the knowledge of man and the wisdom of the faith. The true Orthodox Christian seeks these as a living, personal experience.

Never before in recent history has our Church been witness to such a heartwarming phenomenon, and never before has it felt or lived it with such an intensity. From this exalting reality there emerges another: how necessary it now becomes for us, clergy and laity, to complete the spiritual framing of our community and further imbue our ecclesiastical awareness with the true spirit of Orthodoxy.

Addressing Our Most Critical Concerns

Having outlined our spiritual state, I will now go on to the critical concerns with which we are confronted or which we will encounter as an archdiocese in the decade 1980-1990.

The first and most critical of these concerns with which we are confronted, as are all churches, is the degree and the extent of activism which our Church promotes among its faithful for the preservation, protection, and courageous proclamation of our faith in all matters concerning modern man; from those which are doctrinal and which do not accept negotiation, accommodation, or retreat, to those which are moral, social, and even political, which need more intensive study, clearer definition, pragmatic orientation, vigorous witness and dynamic action of the Church.

More concretely, I refer here first to the syncretistic spirit which oversimplifies the doctrine with the frivolous standardizing

of all religions, since, it is contended, all relate to God. Second, I refer to the 'new morality' which instead of exposing and indicting the transgressor, justifies lawlessness; and instead of stigmatizing the antinomy, dogmatizes that even the most impassionate acts of man should be viewed with greater compassion.

The first—the oversimplification of Orthodoxy and syncretistic standardizing of all religions—places us in danger of spiritual annihilation, both in theory and in practice, while the second—which justifies the unjust and legalizes the illegal—equally places in serious danger the uniqueness of Christian ethics. This is especially true of those Christian ethics of the Orthodox Church which for centuries have safeguarded the cohesion and sanctity of the family as an institution of moral values.

Just a few years ago, these same characteristics distinguished the whole of Christianity from other religions. Specifically up to the day when dialectic materialism as a social philosophy, i.e. that of Hegel and Marx, addressed itself to the intellect of man as did the serpent in the Garden of Eden. The serpent presented the precepts of God as confining the free will of man, and as restricting his natural abilities that he might himself become God with the knowledge of good and evil. Listen to how it is said in the book of Genesis so that you may compare and reach your own conclusion. "Then the serpent said to the woman, 'No. You will not die: for God knows in fact that on the day you eat it, your eyes will be opened, and you will be like gods, knowing good and evil' "(Gen. 3.4-5). To this level of 'empty deceit' man is pushed today by atheistic dialectics. It places man's logic and knowledge above faith and virtue which the dialecticians mock as beguiling human logic or rationalism.

So that you might better understand this intense clash between the power of truth which is Christian faith and of so-called rationalism, which is 'empty deceit,' I cite below the dialectics of the devil in his conversation with Christ whom he tried to tempt. Listen! He has knowledge of the Holy Bible and cites it in re-enforcement of his argumentation: in like fashion as today's 'intellectuals,' who pursue the uprooting of faith and of virtue from the life of the Christian. "He [Jesus] fasted for forty days and forty nights, after which He was very hungry and the temptor came and said to Him, 'If you are God's son, tell these stones to turn into loaves' " (Mt. 4.3). At another point of discussion the devil quotes the Holy Bible saying to Christ: "Throw yourself down, for scripture says:

'He will put you in his angels' charge, and they will support you on their hands, in order not to hurt your foot against a stone' " (Mt. 4.6). Later in the life of Christ, similar words will be uttered by His crucifiers: "If you are God's Son, come down from the Cross." (Mt. 27.40) and with mocking epilogue "If He is the King of Israel, let Him come down from the Cross now, and we will believe in Him" (Mt. 27.42-43).

The answer to all these challenges by the 'followers of this dialectic rationale' was given by the Apostle Paul. He declared to the Corinthians who, in an effort to justify their amoral life, deified this 'logic-rationale.' "While the Jews demand miracles and the Greeks look for wisdom, here are we preaching a crucified Christ; to the Jews an obstacle that they can't overcome. To the pagan's madness, but to those who have been called whether they are Jews or Greek, a Christ who is the power and wisdom of God. *For God's foolishness is wiser than human wisdom*" (1 Cor. 1.22-25).

The mockers would do well if instead of muddling the thoughts of others, they tried to comprehend for themselves this important and proven truth.

If what we assert is true, that the Holy Bible for us is the source of wisdom and knowledge, and faith is for us, "the essence of things we hope for, the substance of the things we cannot see" (Heb. 11.1), a kind of 'beyond knowledge and doubt,' then we are obliged to bear witness to this consistency with a conscientious and absolute living of this truth. Such an Orthodox expression and presence of faith and virtue would make the earth, the spiritual ground upon which we stand, more stable, and equally stable our journey to absolute spiritual freedom, towards which truth leads.

The problem of consistency between faith and practice is presented today more as a command rather than as a problem. That which we are commanded, is to rediscover the ability to intellectualize properly as Christians, instead of being caught up with sophistries for the purpose of creating impressions, motivated, as the Apostle Iakovos says, by "bitter jealousy" or by quarrelsome tendencies which make us boastful and distorters of the truth (Jas. 3.14).

The only response, I believe, to this secularistic attitude in matters of religion, is for us to acquire some theological knowledge and a greater familiarity with the Holy Bible, so that we may withstand the "techniques of the devil" (Heb. 6.11).

Such a concern for the conscientious awakening of Orthodoxy would safeguard us from callous theological 'verbiage' in our inter-

church relations. Those contemptful propagandizers of the Evangelistic and Jehovah Witness distortions of Christianity would be turned away empty-handed. We would be able to keep at a distance all others, who without hesitation appear on the horizon as genuine Orthodox, whereas in reality they are "speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron" (1 Tim. 4.2) as Paul, in a similar situation, warns Timothy.

The second problem, with equally disturbing dimensions, is presented by our hesitancy in committing ourselves to an ecclesiastical life within the canons and ecclesiastical practice, as experienced by our Mother Church and mandated by our new ecclesiastical charter. In the previous instance the "faith given the saints" (Jude 1.3) would be realized if our knowledge were enhanced with some theological education, since only then will we be able to have a truly Orthodox life-style. In the second instance, however, compliance and application of the new charter can only become possible with the absolute understanding of the letter and spirit of the constitution, which specifically and essentially reflects the interest of our Mother Church that we grow spiritually by the preservation of the faith and that unity which is nurtured by the spirit "in the bond of peace" (Eph. 4.3).

This must be complimented by a conscientious consecration of "our calling in one hope, to which we have been called," our real calling being to herald to the world that there is "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God, Father of all who is above all and through all and in all" (Eph. 4.5-6). From this glorious proclamation Orthodoxy can draw all the power for a dynamic presence, witness and missionary fulfillment.

Most assuredly we must pay attention to all the articles of the constitution—each one separately— particularly since they have been given to us in order to constitute our new administrative and spiritual unity, which would enable us to fully participate in the militant "one Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church," the Great Church of Christ.

The charter gives us something else as well: an ecclesiastical identity of our own, by establishing us as an eparchy of the Ecumenical Throne with broad geographical boundaries, as vast as the Western Hemisphere, and by charging us with spiritual and pastoral responsibilities to all Orthodox Christian communicants within the Archdiocese of North and South America. If the charter is not understood in this context by all of us and we do not pursue its application within the true spirit to which I referred, it will then

be relegated to a legal document, without soul and breath, incapable of inspiring new life and imaginative creativity, expected by our Mother Church and all.

It is also necessary to consider the charter as the official map which charts in detail our journey toward a forceful spiritual, ecclesiological, and theological presence of Orthodoxy among the other churches of this hemisphere, a presence which will, in essence, be an eloquent witness to the teachings and mission of Orthodoxy in this geographical setting.

The charter is an outline of our privileged mission, i.e. to be the official bearers of the ecumenical message on behalf of the Mother Church—the First See of Orthodoxy—the Ecumenical Patriarchate. And the message is, that along with all other churches in the hemisphere, we intensify our efforts and pursue greater justice, equal opportunity, and peace for all people in the world. For its attainment, we offer our daily, special prayers, as we call all to pray for the peace of the world, for the union of all, and for the stability of the Holy Churches of God.

From what has been said thus far it is evident that the solution to the problem concerning the proper understanding and effective adaptation of the charter is in our hands. Suffice that we move in a coordinated effort with love and humility to give final form to the community make-up within the framework of the canons and regulations which are prescribed by the charter.

Signs of the Times

As you have noted, I did not address myself to the small problems which exist in the daily life of the parish, and which are expected from the interaction between parish councils, priests, dioceses, and archdiocese. At times, these problems take on greater proportions than necessary. Most of these, however, are being resolved with a little good will and effort. Those which remain usually are expediently resolved with sensitivity and much love by our venerable bishops. Fortunately even our parishes no longer concern themselves to any measurable degree with these oftentimes mundane issues. They are now concerned with assisting their priest, in developing broader spiritual horizons in their community, in bridging the gap between the secular and ecclesiastical spirit, and in closing the chasm that is evident between today's youth and the Church. While these minor issues are slowly disappearing from the scene of our community concerns, due to the direct

intervention and peaceful disposition of our priests and bishops and the ever-growing awareness of our parish councils, new problems now appear; the consequences of which may cause us great pain in the times ahead.

These signs, signs of the times, which can influence the lives of our communities and our faithful with unforeseen consequences, are the result of tendencies towards centrifugality and withdrawal from God and Church. These are the unrestrained tendencies of man to wastefulness; the growing dependence of man upon industry and productivity; the endless rise in the cost of living; the collapse of moral values; the legalization of violence as a means of establishing justice; the progressive abolition of the essence of true justice; the unreserved use of lies and dishonest means to undermine the established moral order; the institutionalization of terrorism; the shameless justification of the unjust; the emotional and violent reaction even to the ideal of a defensive war; the familiarization on the other hand with crime as something to be expected, and finally the defeatist attitude and the abandonment of all ideals, supposedly for the sake of peace; a peace which is shamelessly propagandized by the very people who invade and occupy territories in order to solidify their own empires.

Rightfully you may ask: what relationship do all these pitiful and negative signs of the times have with our Church, our parishes and ourselves? Initially you are right. They are of no immediate consequence to us. Perfidiously however, beneath the surface, they undermine our very existence by weakening the foundations of our ideals, in accordance with which we try to live. When it comes to this endless series of problems, our ability to think is being drained and totally stagnated. We can no longer absorb these anxieties. Our desire for vigorous resistance to the confusion and irrationality they create is paralyzed. These signs of the times suffocate our rationale, diminish our self-confidence and reduce our trust in all that we consider proper and respectable.

The inevitable consequence is that we yield to the negation or the imbalance of our very nature as we attempt to reconcile with the irreconcilable or passively accept a continuous contradiction between thoughts and passions which seem to have no end. I refer to the passions which are cultivated by the agonizing pressures of each day, imposed upon us by our inability to combat the extreme violence of our times. To protect the church of Corinth from a similar crisis in his day, the Apostle Paul exhorted the

Corinthians with the following strong words: "Do not be mis-mated with unbelievers. For what partnership have righteousness and iniquity? Or what fellowship has light with darkness? What accord has Christ with Belial?" (2 Cor. 6.14)

In reality this is the issue. These "signs of the times" which were enumerated, have established a new morality of disorder, irrationality, and the denial of all that is righteous. And yet, there was a time when society was governed by genuine and pious thinkers. "You have power over men, moral as you are" (Macc. 7.16) the Holy Scriptures proclaimed in times when people listened. This has now been replaced with impassioned and negative logic, to which adherence is impossible, rendering each and every one of us in a state of confusion.

It is true. These signs should have no relation to us. And yet, we have been driven away from the horizon to which we always turn in critical times. David's declaration: "I lift my eyes to the mountains, where is help to come from? Help comes to me from the Lord who made heaven and earth" (Ps. 120. 1-2), is no longer echoed.

The signs of the times regrettably point to our descent and not to our ascent. No longer do these signs look to the mountains as they should. There is a yearning for a decisive return. If only we could find this easy; if only this were possible! Our uplifting as communities, as a Church in fact, depends on the spiritual clarity of the mind of the faithful. The signs of the times may be muddled. Fortunately for us, we have Him who is the Light. It is He who declared: "he who follows me will not walk in darkness but will have the light of life" (Jn. 8.12). Can we follow Him?

The Challenge of the Decade 1980-1990

Many speak of the challenge of the decade 1980-1990. In reality there is more than one. The challenges are many. The one challenge though which most are concerned with, is how we can survive beyond this decade. For us Orthodox, the decade is not impersonal. Neither is the challenge impersonal. It pertains directly to the essence, existence and reality of our identity; that which we are, that is, Christian Orthodox in a tremendously unorthodox time as evidenced in all areas of human thinking and experience.

We exist among the other churches with a living image which evolved after many travailing years of trying to rise from the realm of obscurity to the forefront of American life. There is no longer

any fear of drowning in the multi-ethnic and multi-ecclesiastical sea of this land. We no longer suffer from an inferiority complex which inhibited us in the past. We have a self-awareness and we are slowly acquiring our own physiognomy. We are not yet fully organized as a serious power to be reckoned with, but gradually we progress as a Church and as an ethnic group. We are progressively rising on the political scene, just as we have risen in the scientific, business, artistic and athletic arenas of our nation. In the area of inter-church relations, among the Orthodox and the non-Orthodox we have and present our own theology, our own ecclesiastical hypostasis, our own ecclesiological position, our own spiritual contribution. We have done so in a manner neither divisive or antagonistic. On the contrary, we are always willing to respond to every theological dialogue and endeavor for rapprochement.

Our racio-religious identity then is challenged with the question: will we be able to be organized and journey with Christ into a future, not simply a future of survival, but rather, an authentic perpetuation of Orthodoxy with strength and spiritual impact? Beyond this, the challenge is a personal one directed to each of us, with the expectation that each become a holistic Christian with Orthodoxy as our faith and Orthopraxy as our virtue. The question which justly arises is: if we do not arise to the challenge, what can elevate us? Our Church? The process of history? A jarring of our religious conscience? A theological awareness and catechism more complete than that which we have already received? A 180 degree turn from our worldly concerns to purely spiritual pursuits? A truly Orthodox charismatic movement of true spiritual renewal? Literature which would answer unasked questions? A greater cognizance and participation in the liturgical life of our Church? What?

The response in essence cannot be other than a continuum to the answers already given by previous clergy-laity congresses. Permit me to remind you of some of the scriptural passages whose meaning and spirit guided our discussions in the past. At the congress of Athens the scriptural passage was the apostolic counsel that all Greek Orthodox the world throughout, be "of one spirit and of one purpose" (Phil. 2.2). In New York the clergy-laity congress theme was: "speaking the truth in love" (Eph. 4.14). In Houston we meditated on the passage that we "be renewed in the spirit, of one mind" (Eph. 4.32), which today emerges as a

daily need. In Chicago the scriptural passage was an apostolic admonition that we be "transformed by the renewal of our mind" (Rom. 12.2). Only then can we be conformed to the image of Christ. In Philadelphia the scriptural passage was "being many we are one body" (Rom. 4-6), so that we may emphasize our ecclesiastical unity as we enter into a new era of decentralization, mandated by the new charter. In Detroit we declared that it was time to pay attention to the counsel of Saint Iakovos: that we "be doers of the word and not hearers only" (Jas. 2.22).

At our present clergy-laity congress we chose the Apostle Paul's advice to the Thessalonians, that we "rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing; in everything give thanks" (1 Thes. 5.16-17). Why, however, in a godless age as today, have we chosen this apostolic exhortation and not another? I respond. For the simple reason that we have never sampled this beautiful experience. It has been chosen because it speaks to the innermost depth of our heart about a new heartbeat, which would fundamentally change our whole Christian outlook, theory, and disposition in life. It has been chosen because it wants us to acquire the strength to overpower sorrow everytime it strangles our soul. It has been chosen so that we may be able to communicate with God and offer a prayer everytime our faith is shaken. It has been chosen so that we may be reminded to thank God, even when discontent and self-complacency embitters our lips.

The challenge of the decade 1980-1990 remains that we strive to attain a real transfiguration on all levels of life. This is possible, but only after we realize the ugliness of our lives and come to repentance. It will be accomplished only with the change of mental attitude with which we think, react, and live as Christians. From a theological and more specific point of view, the challenge of this decade is that we become "conformed to the image of the Son of God" (Rom. 8.29), and as Christ is "the brightness of His glory and the express image of God the Father" (Heb. 1.3), we too become brightness of glory and express image of Christ.

The challenge then of this decade lies in the nature of Christ's challenge, that we "rise up and stand in the center" (Luke 6.8). To be able to rise up everytime we fall; to use our hands in doing good works; to journey with Christ towards Emmaus where He encountered the two journeying disciples; to stand erect and in the center; to take on our responsibilities courageously; to wear the panoply of God "that we may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done so, to stand" (Eph. 6.13).

Facing the Uncertainty of the Decade 1980-1990

Only with this panoply will we be able to withstand the techniques of the devil which he uses to disarm us of our spiritual and moral ability to resist.

Here it should be noted, that we refer to the confrontation of the decade by our Church and by those who carry the burden, not only of resisting, but even of changing the course of history. It is a fact that other churches feel a similar void and with good reason. Perhaps they are losing members, or some of their influence, or even the ability to reinterpret and impart their new theology. What is certain, is that obscurity has stealthily entered into the life of all churches. This is witnessed by the uncertainty of the resolutions and programs which are daily subjected to review and examination, rendering them nebulous and open to cancellation.

To be released from secularism it is time for our Church and for all churches to rediscover faith. All have a need to find the essence of our true mission, to capture our strength, to fill our ranks, and to enter into battle. Turning my attention to our Church, I am of the opinion that the time has come to divorce ourselves permanently from ambiguity and insecurity. We must decisively initiate a new epoch for our Church. "Looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that set before Him, endured the Cross and set down at the right hand of the throne of God" (Heb. 12.2).

Permit me to address to you, my beloved fellow communicants, an appeal and a challenge. Saint Paul adds this advice to that already given above: "consider Him that endured such contradiction of sinners against Himself, lest you grow wearied and faint in your soul" (Heb. 12.3). The anticipated course of events for the decade 1980-1990 can render us soul-weary and faint-hearted. The signs of the times are not encouraging or optimistic. The energy problem will become more confusing and complex. Unemployment will rise. Inflation will grow to greater heights. Confidence will continue to decline. The sounds of war will become more frequent and intense. Computers, I am afraid, will continue to make more mistakes. Political minds will continue to grope with the unresolvable social woes. The sociologists and theologians will continue to sound the alarm. And we Christians, with blurred mind and with little faith, will resoundingly hear these political prophecies without rebelling against the state of fearful confusion into which we are thrown.

These forewarnings do not necessarily contain the methods to cope with these issues. A serious, in-depth study is needed. An in-depth analysis is necessary. We need to find a method of effective action and a positive strategy which could bring us face to face with this defeatist attitude which continues to paralyze whatever little ability that is left in us to fight and resist. Our Church is called militant. She cannot deny Herself; nor can we deny ourselves. We are "God's children" (Rom. 8.17). Not simply children, but "Synergists with God" (1 Cor. 3.9) – conversationalists with God, as He Himself announced with the voice of Isaiah: "come, let us converse, says the Lord" (Is. 1.8).

The ambiguity of the present, the insecurity of the future, all must be discussed with God; even the means of battling the situations of the soul and of setting our mind free from insecurity and equivocation. Our faith is not simply a system of doctrines and imperatives. It is a struggling faith which neither fears nor avoids the clash with the powers of evil. Even when we feel weak, then, precisely then is the moment for us to remember God's response to Apostle Paul's complaint: "my grace is sufficient for you; for my strength is made perfect in weakness" (2 Cor. 12.9).

In the decisive confrontation of the decade 1980-1990, with all its unpredictable hopes and fears, we will be able to respond only if we are armed with impenetrable Christian concepts and beliefs, galvanizing at the same time all the power of our being, our faith. "Everything is possible with him who believes" (Mk. 9.23). This confrontation is not the responsibility of the few. It is not the responsibility of some. It is the responsibility of all. In order to resist, we must gather our moral strength, and thus save the soul of Orthodoxy. Orthodoxy is not uncertainty. It is truth. In the realm of truth, there is no room for doubt or error. It is apparent therefore that the only way to confront the problem is by living an intense Orthodox life-style.

Our ecclesiastical perpetuity in this land will be ensured the moment we cease vain and purposeless discussions and begin living our faith through conscientious and fruitful actions. Ambiguity beclouds the horizon and muddles the minds of those who do not love or believe.

Love and faith, these two invincible strengths make the Christian a warrior, and in fact, a victor. In the sky of Orthodoxy the sun of hope shines gloriously. It offers us new insights, which warm the heart and elevate the soul within the blue and infinite vastness of the kingdom of heaven.

Epilogue

The epilogue of this introductory address cannot differ from my introduction. In their deeper meaning both refer to the word of the Cross, which is the word of truth and of joy. "Behold, for by the Cross joy has entered into the world" we are reminded by the Hymnist every Sunday following the Matins Gospel. Rejoice always therefore my brethren and children. As we commence our deliberations regarding the expected growth of our Church, may that joy radiate in our faces. Let us pray that our meetings will be illumined by the Holy Spirit and that we will never cease seeking the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Throughout the days ahead, may our lips be ever speaking praise in gratitude to God. We arrived at these promising shores in the beginning of the century, unknown, in unfamiliar surroundings. An invisible hand was guiding us. It protected us then, it has protected us throughout, and it protects us now.

Our first immigrants paved the roads and railroad tracks which they themselves walked. They are the forerunners; we, their followers. More avenues, direct and unbending, are also needed for the generations to come. We must chart these avenues with love, with perception, and with care. The youth follow those whose faces are set towards a definite goal, reflecting love. They seek to follow visionary leaders whose lips speak kindness and compassion, and who are able to raise their eyes to the heavens in search of new ideals. They follow people who greet the sunrise and the sunset with the same warm greeting with which they greet God; God is the Way, the Truth, and the Life, and to whom they raise their souls and hands.

This is how our youth expect us. With a radiant expression on our countenance. This is further necessitated by the difficulties of the times. This is also expected of us by the first generation Greek-Americans who successfully finished the race.

Our Creator wants us to be faithful, joyous, sensitive, holistic, and complete human beings pointing to the 'New Day,' so that He may again turn His eyes to His creation wherein a chronicler may one day repeat those simple yet joyous words: "God saw that which was good and God blessed the day and sanctified it" (Gen. 2.3).

May that which the Psalmist hopes always be a reality with us: "May God show kindness and bless us and make His countenance shine upon us" (Ps. 66.1). In conclusion permit me to repeat the apostolic admonition: "Rejoice evermore. Pray without ceasing. In

everything give thanks. For this is the will of God.” Always! Especially this week. Here in Atlanta; where a vigorous Orthodoxy sprang some seventy-five years ago from the hearts of the Greek immigrants; where the first great organization for our people, AHEPA was founded; where the sermon for equal political and civil rights was heralded with the might of a lightening bolt by the martyred preacher Martin Luther King; where it was deigned by God that we convene this Twenty-Fifth Clergy-Laity Congress, so that we, the Greek Orthodox, may herald to the world that the Christian of today is called to transform all that is artificial and temporal in our society into vital, exuberant, and renewing moral values and concerns.

My brethren! Rejoice evermore. Pray without ceasing. In everything give thanks; for this is the will of God for us. May His Grace and His blessings be with us, now and ever more.

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FATHER KOSMAS AND THE GOSPEL OF LOVE

I am both honored and proud to participate together with my colleagues: Professors Pericles Vallianos, Athan Anagnostopoulos, and Constantine Cavarinos in the observance by the Hellenic College/Holy Cross community of the two-hundredth anniversary of the martyred death of Kosmas Aitolos. As I have stated elsewhere,¹ a debt is owed to Professor Cavarinos for being the first to introduce Kosmas to a wider English-speaking audience, to His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos for suggesting this commemoration, and to President Thomas C. Lelon for his encouragement and support.

Today Kosmas' popularity among Orthodox Christians is rivaled only by Saint Nektarios about whom, however, very little has been written when compared with the ever increasing literature surrounding Kosmas. For the first 160 years, approximately 300 studies were published, while during the last forty years an additional 850 studies have appeared dealing with this amazing priest-monk, known to the Greek Orthodox Christians variously as Saint Kosmas, Kosmas the Monk, Kosmas the Martyr, Kosmas the Isapostolos, Kosmas the Elder, the Saint of the Enslaved, the Apostle of the Poor, Kosmas Aitolos, or simply Father Kosmas.

Despite all that has been written about him (the latest book is only a few months old),² it is not surprising that we know relatively little about Saint Kosmas' personal life. What is generally true about many great men in history is equally true of him; it is their work and mission that are important, their teaching and message that are remembered and cherished, while biographical details are overshadowed by their towering personalities. Later, however, when biographical details are considered important, many of them, unfortunately, have been lost with the passage of time.

So it is with Kosmas Aitolos, the Apostle of the Poor, which is one of my favorite names for him. I believe it can be said with some assurance that few if any individuals affected the personal lives of so many Orthodox Christians in the last two hundred years as did this 'Apostle of the Poor.' This was true because he gave his life completely to Christ whose gospel of love he lived and because

he identified totally with the people he set out to serve. Their response was to love him and the Master he served and to consider him a saint over a century and a half before the Church officially listed him among that select company.³

We know that Kosmas was hanged by the Ottoman authorities on 24 August 1779. His probable birthplace was the village of Mega Dendro in Aitolia, hence his name Aitolos. Although we know his parents, who baptized him Konstas, were poor weavers, we are not certain of their names.

On one occasion when there was need to introduce himself, Kosmas simply said, "my false, earthly, and transient homeland is the province of Arta, in the district of Apokouro. My father, my mother, my family are pious Orthodox Christians."⁴ We know that he had a brother named Chrysanthos who was a priest and a teacher to whom he addressed a letter that is extant.⁵

Kosmas received an indifferent education over a long period of time. He was first taught by Deacon Gerasimos Lytsikas in Sigditsa of Parnassida, followed by studies with Deacon Ananias Dervisanos during which time he also taught others younger than himself. About the age of thirty-five, still a layman, he went to Mount Athos to study in the school established at the monastery of the Great Lavra by Patriarch Kyrillos V (1748-51; 1752-57). Kosmas remained briefly on Mount Athos after the school was closed. He was tonsured a monk in the monastery of Philotheou where he was also ordained a priest.

Had Kosmas remained on Mount Athos, engaged in personal *askesis*, the remainder of his life and death would have been noted perhaps only by his fellow monks at Philotheou. Kosmas decided to leave his monastic sanctuary despite his conviction that a monk not only belongs in a monastery but can only be saved if he remained in a monastery. Once he shared with those who came to hear him preach his thinking on this subject.

A monk, He said, can't be saved in any other way except to escape far from the world . . . But you may say, you too are a monk. Why are you involved in the world? I, too, my brethren, do wrong. But because our race has fallen into ignorance, I said to myself, let Christ lose me, one sheep, and let him win the others. Perhaps God's compassion and your prayers will save me too.⁶

Kosmas then was literally willing to sacrifice himself for the sake

of those he felt called to serve, because of his complete trust in God. Kosmas demonstrated this love and trust in God by undertaking at least three 'apostolic' journeys during the last two decades of his life.⁷ He spent some twenty years preaching and demonstrating Christ's love, traveling from Constantinople in the East to the Ionian Islands in the West, from central Albania in the North to central Greece in the South, landing on numerous islands in the Aegean Sea as well.

Why did Kosmas choose to travel thousands of miles, visiting some of the poorest and most remote villages, to speak to rather 'primitive' people, giving up the tranquility and peace of a monastic cell to say nothing of endangering his life, for he traveled about during some of the most troubled times in that part of the world? Simply put, he fell in love with Christ whom he discovered first loved him.

I'm a servant, [he said in one of his sermons], of our Lord Jesus Christ who was crucified. Not that I'm worthy to be a servant of Christ, but Christ condescended to have me because of his compassion. Therefore, my brethren, I believe, glorify, and worship our Christ . . . I beseech my Christ to find me worthy to spill my blood for his love as he spilled his for my love.⁸

It is in the Scriptures that Kosmas discovered Christ's love and the consequences for him of that love.

Studying the holy and sacred Gospel [he said], I found in it many and different teachings which are all pearls, diamonds, treasures, riches, joy, gladness—eternal life. Among the other things I also found this teaching in which Christ says to us: no Christian, man or woman, should be concerned only with himself, how he can be saved, but must be concerned also with his brethren so that they may not fall into sin.

Hearing this sweetest teaching spoken by our Christ, my brethren, to concern ourselves with our fellows, that teaching gnawed at me inside my heart for many years, just as a worm eats away at wood. Considering my own ignorance what could I do?

I sought the advice of my spiritual fathers . . . and I revealed to them my thinking, and I asked if such work was pleasing to God to do it. Everyone urged me to go ahead and they told me that such work is good and sacred.

In fact, urged on by His Holiness Patriarch Sophronios . . . and re-

ceiving his sacred blessing, I abandoned my own advancement, my own good, and went out to walk from place to place to teach my brethren.⁹

Armed then with what he believed to be indispensable for every Christian, "two loves: love for our God and for our brethren,"¹⁰ Father Kosmas began his missionary activity among the poor, the neglected, the ill-educated, the economically exploited, the socially discriminated, the rural and town folk who were further oppressed by an alien culture and the religion of Islam.

Kosmas was not a very imposing figure. Barely five feet tall, not particularly handsome, dressed in a weatherbeaten cassock, carrying a *komboskyne* (prayer rope) and cross, or in his own words, "with the grace of our Lord and God Jesus Christ, the Crucified One, I have neither purse, nor house, nor chest, nor another cassock than the one I am wearing."¹¹ he entered the village square accompanied by anywhere from a handful to hundreds of people. There the cross would be planted into the ground and a bench brought forward upon which he would stand to preach.

Because he was a living embodiment of the Gospel of Love, his listeners responded to him eagerly and in the most positive terms. Kosmas was not content to preach about love only in abstract terms. He frequently called for concrete demonstrations of this love, and his audience responded because they were convinced that he was willing to give everything for that same love. Here is one example of this. On one occasion he said the following to his fellow Christians,

'How are you getting along here, my brethren? Is there love among you? If by chance you want to be saved, don't ask for anything else in this world except for love. If there is anyone here among your nobility who has this love for his brethren, let him stand up and tell me so that I may pray for him also and ask all the Christians to forgive him. He'll receive such forgiveness that he couldn't buy it for thousands of gold coins.'

'I, O saint of God, love God and my brethren.'

'Good, my child, you have my blessing. What is your name?'

'Kostas.'

'What is your trade?'

'I tend sheep.'

'Do you weigh the cheese you sell?'

‘Yes, I do.’

‘You, my child, have learned to weigh cheese, and I to weigh love. Is the scale ashamed of its master?’

‘No.’

‘Now I who walk about and teach in the world can say that I love Mr. Kostas as dearly as I love my own eyes. But you don’t believe it. You want to test me first and then you’ll believe.’

‘I have bread to eat and you don’t. Now if I were to give you some since you have none, this shows that I love you. But if I were to eat all of the bread and you went about hungry, what does that show? It shows that this love I have for you is false.’

‘I have two glasses of wine to drink; you have none. If I were to give you some to drink, then I show that I love you. But if I don’t give you any, then the love is false.’

‘You are sad. Your mother and father have died. If I were to come to console you, then my love is true. But if while you cried, and mourned, I ate, drank, and danced, my love would be false.’

You are sad. Your mother and father have died. If I were to come to console you, then my love is true. But if while you cried, and mourned, I ate, drank, and danced, my love would be false.

‘Do you love that poor boy?’

‘I do.’

‘If you loved him, you would buy him a shirt because he is naked so that he too will pray for your soul. Then your love will be true, but now it is false.’

‘Isn’t that right, my Christians? We can’t go to paradise with false love. Now if you want to make your love true as gold, take and clothe the poor children, and then I’ll ask that you be forgiven. Will you do it?’

‘Yes.’

‘Fellow Christians. Kostas has learned that the love he had up to now was false and he wants to make it true as gold. He will clothe the poor children. And because we have taught him, I beg you to say for Mr. Kostas three times: ‘May God forgive him and have mercy upon him.’¹²

For Kosmas everything begins and ends with God's love. Our own responsibility is to respond positively to that love.

Although Father Kosmas took his vow of poverty very seriously and never accepted anything for himself, he seemed never to be without money. This money, however, was used to buy various articles which he felt were necessary and were distributed by the thousands among the people: kerchiefs, combs, crosses, prayer ropes, candles, booklets, and even baptismal fonts.¹³

Consequently, when he advised men to allow their beards to grow, he provided them with combs which they could not buy for themselves. When he urged women to cover their heads, he gave them kerchiefs. When he advised parents to baptize their children, he helped provide various churches with baptismal fonts, and when he counseled Christians to practice the Jesus Prayer, he distributed prayer ropes to aid them in their concentration.

Armed with the justice of the Gospel, Father Kosmas, years ahead of his time, preached the equality of men and women. "God created [woman]," he said, "equal with man and not inferior."¹⁴

In an area and among people who treated their women indifferently and often like field hands, Father Kosmas shouted, "Man, don't treat you wife like a slave, because she is God's creature as you are. God was crucified for you as he was for her. You call God father, she calls him father too. You have one faith, one baptism. God does not consider her inferior."¹⁴ In fact Kosmas believed that because of the response of women to his Gospel of love, they had a distinct advantage. "My brethren," he said, "if you want to be better than women, you must do better works than they, otherwise what does it profit us if women do better works and go to paradise while we go to hell?"¹⁶ His experience allowed him to conclude, "There are many women who are better than men."¹⁷

Father Kosmas also showed great concern for children and their treatment. He paid special attention to discrimination which began at birth depending upon the sex of the child. He cites the example of Joachim and Anna who did not prefer a boy over a girl. And so he urged his listeners also to accept both girls and boys with equal joy because he saw them all as God's creatures. Children, should be lovingly and tenderly brought up, grounded in the love of God. Good children, Kosmas believed, were the products of good parents. "When a father and mother, who are the roots of their children, are watered by fasting, prayer, alms, and good works, God guards their children," he said. "An apple tree gives forth sour apples. Now what should we do, blame the apples or the tree?

The tree. So you parents should do good, you who are the apple tree, so that your apples might be sweet.”¹⁸

Fearlessly, Father Kosmas preached against social injustice and the abuse of the poor. To the affluent elders of the villages he said, “if you wish to be saved, [you] should love all the Christians as your children and should apportion taxes according to each person’s ability to pay and not play favorites.”¹⁹

One of the chief causes for Kosmas’ popularity, especially among those who were not particularly religious, was his great emphasis on education. In a letter to his brother Chrysanthos, Father Kosmas noted that he had founded some two hundred primary schools and ten higher schools.²⁰

Kosmas believed education to be indispensable for the nurturing and preservation of the Christian faith. Without learning one could not read the Scriptures whose treasures would then not be accessible. Wherever he did not find a school operating, he said, “It is better for you to have a Greek school in your village rather than fountains and rivers, for when your child becomes educated, then he is a human being. The School opens churches; the school opens monasteries.”²¹

Like the great Fathers of the Church, Father Kosmas saw faith and learning in complete harmony with one another. “Our faith,” he said, “wasn’t established by ignorant saints, but by wise and educated saints who interpreted the Holy Scriptures accurately, and who enlightened us sufficiently by inspired teachings.”²²

He cites Moses the Prophet as an example of the need for learning. “The Prophet Moses studied for forty years to learn his letters in order to understand where he walked. You too should study my brethren; learn as much as you can. And if you fathers haven’t, educate your children to learn Greek, because our Church uses Greek. And if you don’t learn Greek, you can’t understand what our Church confesses.”²³

From the extent of the bibliography I cited above it is obvious that the life and work of Father Kosmas is a seemingly inexhausted source which has and will continue to inspire men and women who show his love for Christ.

In closing, I would like to share with you an impression of that great saint found in a letter written during his lifetime by someone who experienced the presence of Father Kosmas.

The anchorite and hieromonk Kosmas arrived [here in Kephallenia] in 1777. Initially, he preached in the rural areas and then in

the city, being followed by thousands of inhabitants of every class and sex. The austerity of his character, the evangelical simplicity of his words and the power of his arguments brought about such a transformation of life that families that were enemies were seen living together as brothers, having exchanged the kiss of peace and asking of each other forgiveness. Men who had committed serious crimes were seen crying bitterly over their sins. Broken marriages of long standing were restored again. Prostitutes abandoned their shameful work and returned filled with repentance and prudence. Rich upper class young ladies gave away their valuable jewelry to the poor or to the churches. Court trials ceased. Stolen articles were returned. Insults were forgiven. Depraved men took up the monastic habit and followed the preacher. In a few words, the appearance of the island was transformed.²⁴

May our own encounter with Father Kosmas during this commemoration lead to the beginning at least of our own transformation.

NOTES

1. See my *Father Kosmas the Apostle of the Poor* (Brookline, 1977), p. vii.
2. See Ioannes V. Menounos, *Kosmas Aitolos, Didachai and Bibliography* (Athens, 1979) (in Greek).
3. Vaporis, p. 11.
4. *Ibid.*, First Didache, p. 15. (Hereafter, the number preceeding the page indicates the number of the didache.)
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 148-49.
6. *Ibid.*, 7, p. 111.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 15; cf. p. 157.
9. *Ibid.*, 1, pp. 15-16.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 19f.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 21-22.
13. Constantine Cavarnos, *St. Cosmas Aitolos* (Belmont, Ma., 1971), p. 32; Vaporis p. 10.
14. Vaporis, 1, p. 26.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
17. *Ibid.*, 7, p. 97.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

19. Ibid., 3, p. 53.
20. Ibid., pp. 148-49.
21. Ibid., 5, p. 78; cf. 8, p. 126.
22. Ibid., p. 145.
23. Ibid., 4, p. 77.
24. Ibid., pp. 1-2.

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REVIEWS

Footsteps in the Sea: A Biography of Archbishop Athenagoras Cavadas. By George Poulos. Brookline, Massachusetts: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1979. Pp. 186. Illustrated. Hardcover, \$11.95. Paperbound, \$8.95.

The Executive Director of the Byzantine Fellowship, author of *The Orthodox Saints* and *The Lives of the Saints and Major Feast Days*, and priest of the Greek Orthodox Church of the Archangels of Stamford, Connecticut, has written a book that memorializes one of the most important pioneering hierarchs of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, His Eminence Archbishop Athenagoras Cavadas (1885-1962), whose impact on American Orthodoxy is still being felt today. *Footsteps in the Sea* is not a critical or scholarly biography (there are no notes, no bibliography, no chronological tables in this volume) but rather a work of love which "concerns itself with Archbishop Athenagoras Cavadas, the first dean of the Greek Orthodox Theological School, which was founded in 1937. His memory is enshrined in the hearts of all the students who loved him and if this book brings out the true light of his beautiful life, then the reader and the writer alike will never cease to love him" (p.18). Rather than a biography (which we can certainly use), what we have here are reminiscences of his former students organized in palatable, readable fashion by one of his most admiring students with the cooperation of various alumni and ecclesiastical colleagues. The concentration of attention is on Archbishop Cavadas's American experience, with very little attention given to his important tenure as Archbishop of Great Britain (Thyateira) and Exarch of the Ecumenical Patriarchate for Western and Central Europe from 1951 to his death, after first having been elected Metropolitan of Philadelphia in 1949 (stationed in Venice).

Archbishop Athenagoras Cavadas was a colorful hierarch, a true prince of the Church, who dedicated his life to the Greek Orthodox Church. Having graduated from the University of Athens in 1909, he was ordained a priest in 1910, served as abbot of the Galataki Monastery on the island of Euboea, as assistant dean of the Rizareios Theological School till 1919, preacher for the Metropolitan of Sparta, then pursued higher theological studies at Oxford. He was assigned to be Chancellor of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America and in 1937 became Dean of the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Theological School and then Bishop of Boston. He worked ceaselessly in all areas of Orthodox religious life but will probably be best remembered in the United States as the founder of the Greek Orthodox Theological School of the Holy Cross and as the dynamic Bishop of the Boston diocese.

A remarkably energetic churchman, a highly articulate and eloquent speaker and preacher, a forceful administrator, an author of such works as *Concerning Our Ancestors* (1914), *From My Sermons* (1936), *In the World Beyond* (1937), *Library of Dramas and Plays for the Younger Generation* (1938), *Clergymen's Service Book* (1943), *Clergymen's Service Book of the Divine Liturgy* (1944), *Greek Mythology* (1945), *History of Protestantism* (1946) and the unfinished *Dogmatics* (1962) and contributor to *The Ortho-*

dox Observer (founded in 1934 by the now retired Metropolitan Germanos Polyzoides), Archbishop Athenagoras demonstrated that he was a poet, theologian, playwright, and professional and popular writer. A man of indefatigable energy and absolutely total commitment to the cause of Greek Orthodox Christianity, he was long and persistently a representative of the Orthodox Church to ecumenical bodies (the World Federation of Educational Associations, the World Council of Churches).

Archbishop Athenagoras Cavadas was a striking example of the pioneering clergyman whose energy, dedication, faith and love has made the Orthodox Church a living presence in America and in Europe. It would be appropriate to conclude this review with an excerpt from the panegyric column under review:

Archbishop Iakovos regards the unforgettable Cavadas as a superb theologian of the highest intellect and sterling character; a friend and teacher who carried but one image; a constant source of inspiration and strength; and above all, a man whose entire life was given over to the service of Jesus Christ. As a priest conducting a liturgy Cavadas was without equal, and as a preacher he was an orator of the highest degree. He had an understanding and compassion bordering on the divine, and a courage passed down to him from generations of noble Hellenes who placed virtue, honor, and obedience to God above all things (p. 153).

Footsteps in the Sea is not the definitive biography of Archbishop Athenagoras Cavadas which remains to be written; it is, however, a timely and appropriate reminiscence and reminder of one of those key Orthodox prelates who have made the present Orthodox situation viable and respected within the context of world Christianity.

John E. Rexine
Colgate University

God and Charity: Images of Eastern Orthodox Theology, Spirituality, and Practice. By Francis D. Costa, S.S.S., editor. Brookline, Massachusetts: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1979. Pp. viii + 103. Paperbound. \$4.95.

God and Charity is a joint Greek Orthodox-Roman Catholic effort that deserves wide consideration and circulation. The editor (Chairman and Professor of Religious Studies at John Carroll University) is Roman Catholic, four of the contributors are Greek Orthodox and two Roman Catholic. The six articles that constitute this collection give a remarkable fair and clear picture of the position of the Greek Orthodox Church on key theological, religious, social, and ecumenical issues. The first, second, and fourth chapters were delivered as public lectures at John Carroll University, under the Walter Tuohy

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Chair of Interreligious Studies. The two Roman Catholic authors deal with matters of real interest to Greek Orthodox readers.

Probably the most fundamental contribution in the whole volume is Father Thomas Hopko's (St. Vladimir's Seminary) "God and Man in the Orthodox Church" (1-32) because it sets the tone for the whole volume and deals in detail with "the fundamental vision of the Orthodox Church about God and man." In this well presented, well argued, and well ordered paper, Father Hopko discusses the Orthodox view of the knowability of God ("God can and must be known, the Orthodox Church claims, because God has revealed Himself to a creature capable of knowing Him. God has manifested Himself to his creatures, and not simply some data or information about Himself" [pp. 3-4]); demonstrates that such knowledge is intimately connected with man's spiritual nature ("image of God"); notes that Jesus Christ renews the nature of man by sanctifying it and sealing it with the Spirit of God; elaborates on the statements that "Salvation is the Church, and the Church is salvation; the gift of eternal knowledge of God is the knowledge of God through communion with Him in His Son and His Spirit" (p. 15); argues that God is God because He is essentially a self-communicating, self-sharing, self-manifesting being—living and acting as Goodness and Love; stresses that "The Church of the living God is a sacramental community" (p. 20), without which no spiritual life is possible. Father Hopko goes on to emphasize that "Orthodox spirituality is the spirituality of suffering, or rather, more accurately, of co-suffering love" (p. 28). The Orthodox Christian can only find life when he/she is willing and able to give completely, as Christ did. Father Hopko's concluding paragraph is so excellent a summary of the Orthodox position that it deserves complete quotation:

The one, true and living God is the God Who is Love and being Love He suffers with us and for us. Man is made in the image and likeness of God Who is Love, Whose uncreated Image and Expression is His Son Jesus Christ. The perfection of man, and the source and content and goal of his spiritual life is to partake of God's nature and to share in His life. And that means, in this life, to share in His sufferings. The vision both of God and of man is thereby perfected in the sufferings and death of Him Who comes down from heaven to become all that we are, that we might become by His Spirit all that He is. The vision is fulfilled on the Cross. (p. 30)

Father Theodore Stylianopoulos's (Hellenic College/Holy Cross) article on "Staretz Silhouan: A Modern Orthodox Saint" (pp. 33-54) shows Orthodox Christianity in personal action by reviewing the remarkable life and teachings of this nineteenth century Russian saint whose entire life was dedicated to spreading the message of knowing Christ through the power of the Holy Spirit. Father Stylianopoulos uses *The Monk of Mount Athos* and *Wisdom from Mount Athos* to illustrate Silhouan's view of the centrality of God's love for the world and Christ's victory over sin and death and what he said and thought about knowledge of God, the Holy Spirit, prayer, spiritual struggle,

and the two criteria for authentic spirituality (love and humility).

Professor Joseph F. Kelly's (John Carroll University) "The Desert Fathers as Models for the Monks of the West" is a fine example of how important and how strong Eastern and Western ties have traditionally been, by demonstrating "the influence on the religious life of the West of the Desert Fathers, those devout Eastern Christians, mostly Egyptians, who fled civilized society to find salvation in the solitude of the desert" (p. 54). Dr. Kelly emphasizes the importance of "the ascetic in the desert, imitating Christ and battling the world, the flesh and the devil—and this is the picture which caught the imagination of the outside world, both East and West" (p. 60). We are shown through Western hagiographical and historical sources tantalizing glimpses of the history of Western monasticism, with special attention to Martin, Bishop of Tours (ca. 316-397) and Sulpicius Severus (ca. 363-420), his hagiographer.

From ascetic concerns Father Demetrios J. Constantelos turns our attention to "The Social Ethos of the Orthodox Church" (pp. 75-87), continuing his widely known valuable work in this area and demonstrating that "The social ethos of the Orthodox Church emanates from the concept of the new commandment of *agape*" (p. 75). Social and moral Orthodox thought are relevantly treated and forthrightly elucidated.

Dr. Philip A. Khairallah's (M.D. and Melkite priest) "Is There a future for an Eastern Rite Catholicism in the United States" (pp. 88-94) briefly but pointedly examines the history of those Eastern Christians who owe their allegiance to Rome but wish to preserve their distinct identity, the problem of the Latinization of those churches in the United States, their attitudes toward Rome, and possible solutions for their dilemma. Dr. Khairallah, who is also Scientific Director and Department Head of Cardiovascular Research at the Cleveland Foundation, feels strongly that "the main function today of the Eastern Catholic Churches is to reconcile Rome with the East and to live the fullness of Orthodoxy still in communion with Roman Catholicism" (p. 92); otherwise, he urges reintegration with the Orthodox Church.

The final contribution by Father Robert G. Stephanopoulos (director of the Interchurch Office of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese) on "Caring for Equivalents: Comments on Current Relations of Orthodox and Roman Catholics" (pp. 95-103) is an enlightened review of the subject that stresses Orthodox responsibility to carry on a dialogue of charity with Rome. Surely, Dr. Stephanopoulos is right when he says, "In the final analysis, the dialogue of charity between Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy rests on the mutual expressions in practice of the reality to which both communions claim to bear witness" (p. 101).

John E. Rexine
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God-Talk: An Examination of the Language and Logic of Theology. By John Macquarrie. New York: The Seabury Press, Second Edition, 1979. Pp. 225. Paper, \$7.95.

The prominent English theologian, John Macquarrie, has produced another excellent book on theology which is useful to theologians and enables them to understand the contemporary problem of theological language and its usage.

The author very succinctly examines contemporary theological views of language and the philosophy of God-talk. In many cases, he is in support of the traditional Orthodox views. Some theologians have sought to reduce theology to history and ethics in parallel to what has taken place in other branches of science, such as astronomy which has been reduced to astrology, and chemistry to alchemy. This, Macquarrie emphatically states, as "a 'reduced theology' . . . is no theology at all" (p. 12).

Although the book is not an apologetic work for the traditional Christian theological language, it discusses with great acumen the various aspects of theological language. The discussion of "Types of Theological Discourse. Case Study: Language of St. Athanasius," is interesting. He chose as his case study the classical text of *De Incarnatione* because it fulfills the requirements of the whole range of theological language. It must be said that the claim that *De Incarnatione* is "unmistakenly cast in the form of what we call 'mythical' discourse" can be offensive to the Orthodox. But Macquarrie is critical of "mythical language" (p. 127) and he insists that the *De Incarnatione* "is theology rather than mythology" (p. 126).

The theological use of light is examined as a case study. Light as a symbol has been used in the Scriptures and the Church to communicate the relationship of God to his people. Epiphany, especially, is the season of "light symbol" *par excellence*. The symbol of the "light of God" is one that points to the "openness" of God. The outreach of God with his light makes possible the revelation of God. The God as light is not the self-enclosed Being which does not allow communication with his creation. Even the Incarnation is unthinkable, when one denies God's manifestation outside his Being. Macquarrie states, "We can think of Christ as the God-Man because he moves out to fulfill the openness that is potential in all human existence" (p. 210).

His treatment of analogy seems to me to be unbalanced. His weight is on the contemporary philosophical acceptance of analogy as a valid discourse of metaphysical reality. Though he makes mention of the *via negativa*, he does not fully treat this method. Most of the Greek Fathers rejected analogy in favor of the apophatic method because no one knows how God is in order to make a comparison and an analogical reference to him. Macquarrie leans on the side of analogical language about God, yet he confesses that, "God transcends anything that our minds can reach" (p. 230).

I was delighted to see an observation which is in support of the Orthodox way of worship—the priest faces eastward in the sanctuary facing the Cross. He states, "I would say that the priest and people are united in having their

attention fixed where it ought to be — on the cross and altar” (p. 299, n. 1).

This book is extremely well-written and deeply philosophical and theological in content and form. It is an indispensable tool for those who wish to think theologically and to articulate Christian thought and doctrine in a contemporary theological language. It is heavily existential in its overall treatment of theological issues and doctrines. One would gain a great deal from the reading of this excellent volume.

George C. Papademetriou
Holy Cross School of Theology

ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΣΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΣΜΟΣ. By Nicholas P. Vasileiades.
Athens: Brotherhood of Theologians ‘O Soter,’ 1978. Pp. 564.

Long before the Christian era a poet asked: “What is man that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou does care for him?” (Ps. 8.4). And in his enthusiasm, he answered: “You have made him little less than God . . .” (Ps. 8.5). But is man a god, or “like a breath,” as another poet put it? “O Lord, what is man that thou does regard him, or the son of man that thou does think of him? Man is like a breath, his days are like a passing shadow” (Ps. 144.4). On the Greek side the great Sophocles exclaimed in his *Antigone*, “Many are the wonders but nothing more worthy of wonder than man.” And the philosopher Protagoras called man “the measure of all things.”

Nevertheless, while antiquity bestowed praises on the human being, there were several voices expressing anguish concerning the destiny of man. Odysseus in his agony and helplessness cried out: “Miserable wretch that I am, what shall be my end?” Centuries later a very similar voice of despair was heard, that of Paul of Tarsus: “Miserable creature that I am, who will deliver me from this body of death?” (Rom. 7.24). The answer to the anguish of both came from the divine (Athena saved Odysseus and Jesus Christ saved St. Paul). Thus the human being (*anthropos*) is not self-sufficient and all powerful either in biblical or in Greek thought, but a dependent being.

In this book the author brings together the Hellenic and Christian worlds of thought and achieves a synthesis between Greco-Roman classical humanism and biblical humanism. Divided into two larger parts and subdivided into twenty-seven chapters, the book examines every major aspect of humanism in the Western tradition — secular as well as religious. Thus the author devotes several chapters to Greek, Roman, Renaissance, Enlightenment, Freudian, and Marxist humanism, presenting first each school’s idea of humanism and then a critique of it. The second part of the work deals with Christian humanism. There are comprehensive chapters on the *humanum* in the Scriptures and in patristic thought, and, in conclusion, a beautiful presentation of humanism in Christian Orthodox theology as it developed in the course of centuries. The

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In the Orthodox reaction to the Latins is embodied the sum of several centuries of christological struggle. Humbert had no understanding of this level of the argument. Smith includes two appendices which clarify the Orthodox side of the conflict: 1) an outline of the arguments of each of the main Orthodox sources, and 2) a vertical flow chart of the Byzantine Orthodox opposition to azymes between the fourth and eleventh centuries.

This reviewer has few and minor objections to this book. The structure of Smith's presentation is often difficult to follow; the general flow of the argument often gets lost in the details of his investigation. There is no historical structure in which to fit some of the events and the reader is not informed until page 91 of the year of Keroularios' accession to the patriarchate. Unfortunately, Smith includes no history of the use of leavened and unleavened breads in the Eastern and Western eucharistic celebrations. He offers only one note (pp. 48-49) in which he presents the opinions of Alexander of Hales on the origins of the practices. Although the Orthodox made frequent reference to the prohibitions of the Apostolic Canons and the canons of the Council in Trullo, Smith makes no note of the fact that both of these canonical collections were only partially received in the west. In addition, there are misleading renderings of several Greek passages. For instance, in one location *ousia* is translated as "being," which is at best weak, and *hypostasis* as "substance," which, while etymologically correct, is unacceptable after the fourth century in Byzantine theological tradition where it takes on the meaning "person" (p. 43, n. 42 and 68, n.121). Finally, the bibliography is weak on modern Orthodox literature; Orthodox scholars are quoted, for instance, only from their more popular works. There is no reference to the excellent study of John Erickson in *St. Vladimir's Quarterly* on the same subject.

Smith makes his point that the issue of the azymes was substantive and not the ruse of an ambitious patriarch. The conflict was not a misunderstanding. It was the head-on collision of two different interpretations of the new covenant. Smith has done an excellent and thorough job of presenting the theological issues surrounding the azymite-prozymite controversy of the eleventh century. The author has done all this while avoiding any hint of polemicism. None of this reviewer's minor objections should detract from the value of this work for the Orthodox scholar.

John L. Boojamra
St. Vladimir's Seminary

Moses Khorenats'i. History of the Armenians. Translation and Commentary by Robert W. Thomson. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1978. Pp. 400. Hardcover, \$22.50.

This is a new presentation of a 'classic' of ancient Armenian literature, which tells the story of the Armenian nation from its legendary origins down

to the fifth century. Thomson not only provides a complete English translation of the text, based on the critical edition of 1913, but also identifies, as far as possible, the literary sources, and analyzes the manner and purpose of the use of these sources. His considered and objective judgment on the overall accuracy, and even the plain honesty of this author, who came to be regarded as the 'father of history' by the Armenians, is bleak indeed. Not only did the eighth-century author, as it is now well known, pretend a fictitious antiquity for himself by claiming to write in the fifth (the time of the invention of the Armenian alphabet and the beginning of a national literature), but also, says Thomson, "he quotes sources at second hand, as if he had read the original; he invents archives to lend the credence of the written word to oral tradition or his own inventions; he rewrites Armenian history in a completely fictitious manner" (p. 56). In fact, Thomson concludes, "Moses is an audacious and mendacious faker . . . he is completely unscrupulous in his distortions . . . his uncorroborated word can never be trusted" (p. 58). This is a harsh verdict, but Thomson's analysis of the material, which systematizes and deepens prior work in this area, fully bears it out.

Thomson's translation of the text, just as his previous rendition of Agathangelos (see the review in this journal, vol. 23, pp. 161-162), is both accurate and idiomatic. One regrets that it was not possible to reproduce, as in the Agathangelos volume, the Armenian text itself. Thomson deserves particular gratitude for mediating the results of much valuable scholarly work written in modern Armenian, work which is simply outside the ken of those who are not full-time specialists in Armenian philology.

In closing, a few comments on some matters of detail will be made. As part of the dossier of parallel material, one can register the extracts from Armenian secular and ecclesiastical history in an appendix to the *Chronicle of Michael the Syrian* (trans. and ed. Chabot, vol. 3, pp. 505ff, vol. 4, pp. 770ff). Though apparently of ninth-century redaction, this text may include material more primitive than Moses; at least its affinities should be investigated. A propos the pedigree of Trdat's wife (p. 233, note 2), one can note that in a recently edited medieval Armenian apocalypse she is said to have been of Mamikonian stock (Pseudo Epiphani, *Sermo de Antichristo*, ed. G. Frasson (Venice, 1976), p. 64). Thomson's suggestion that the historian "Barsuma," one of the ostensible sources of Moses, is in fact a reference to the famous fifth-century ecclesiastic Barsauma of Nisibis (p. 217, note 5) lacks cogency; not only is the date discordant, but Barsauma also is not credited with any historical works in the Syriac tradition. The passage adduced from Thomas Acruni (*loc. cit.*) is susceptible of a different explanation. Mxit'ar of Ayri-vank' can be consulted not only in Brosset's translation, but also in the rare, yet accessible edition by Patkanean (St. Petersburg, 1867). A propos James of Nisibis in Armenia (pp. 269-60) one could additionally cite P. Kruger, "Jacob von Nisibis in syrischer und armenischer Überlieferung," *Le Museon* 81 (1968), pp. 161-179.

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of a leading historian of the period. Father Gill relies extensively on primary sources, especially those in the papal archives, and achieves an objective and balanced treatment of his subject. The book is highly recommended.

ΟΙ ΡΩΣΟΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟΛΑΤΡΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΟΡΟΥΣ. By Konstantinos K. Papoulides. Thessalonike: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1977. Pp. 222 with eight plates.

During the first quarter of this century the monastic communities of Mount Athos were disturbed by the teachings of a group of Russian monks who called themselves 'Glorifiers of the Name' (*Onomatodoxoi*, from the Russian *Imjaslavcy*), but who were characterized by their opponents and critics as the 'Name-Worshippers' (*Onomatolatrai*, from the Russian *Imjabozniki*). The central teaching of this monastic movement, which originated in Russia and established itself on Mt. Athos, was that the power of God is present in the invocation of the name of Jesus. God is present in His name for no name can be separated from its possessor. Thus constant invocation of God's name leads to salvation.

The movement involved not only the Russian Church and the Ecumenical Patriarchate, but also the Tsarist government. It also attracted the attention of the Roman Catholic circles of Constantinople and eventually influenced major Russian thinkers such as Paul Florenskii, Sergius Bulgakov, Nicholas Berdiaev, and others. But the 'Name-Worshippers' were condemned by both the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Holy Synod of Moscow. Following a series of exchanges between the proponents of this teaching and the Russian Church as well as the Ecumenical Patriarchate, eventually 833 *Onomatolatrai* were forcibly deported from Mount Athos to Russia on two warships. The intervention of the Tsarist government even caused a battle between the Russian sailors and the monks at the Saint Panteleemon Monastery, the Russian monastery on Mount Athos.

The author of the present book provides an excellent account of the background, the genesis, as well as growth of the movement on Mount Athos. He believes that it was a Russian movement in origin, spirit, and structure, even though he discerns a certain affinity with fourteenth-century Hesychasm. Dr. Papoulides is interested much more with the history than the theology of the movement. His treatment of doctrinal, canonical, or diplomatic issues is peripheral but adequate for an understanding of the whole problem. He writes objectively, dispassionately, detached, and with a thorough knowledge of the issues involved. His research is based on Greek and Russian sources, including a great deal of archival material.

In addition to a well documented historical survey (pp. 11-76), the book includes a section with unpublished documents (pp. 79-114), and the work of the Hieromonk Antonios Bulatovic, *He Doxa tou Theou einai ho Iesous* (The

Glory of God is Jesus) which contains the teachings of the movement's leader. The *Onomatolatrai* thought that they were not innovators and that their teachings had their roots in the patristic tradition, Hesychasm in particular.

This authoritative and well written book should be of interest to historians, theologians, and others interested in Russian religious thought.

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God in Contemporary Thought: A Philosophical Perspective. Edited by Sebastian A. Matczak. New York, Learned Publications, Inc., 1977. Pp. 1119.

This cumulative volume represents the tenth number of the "Philosophical Questions Series" of which the editor-in-chief is Dr. Sebastian A. Matczak, Professor of Philosophy at St. John's University in New York. It is a precious collection of scholarly papers which concentrate on the existence of God, His nature and the way we know him.

The book is divided into four parts. Part One is devoted to the views on God of the followers of the ancient cultures (Africa, China, India, Islam, Japan, Judaism). The second part presents the Christian teaching and the views of the main branches of Christianity (Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Protestantism) including the pre-Christian concept of God (Plato and Aristotle). Part Three surveys the opinions concerning God of several modern thinkers, mainly philosophers, like Hume, Whitehead, Tillich, Marcel, Heidegger, Sartre. This section also includes essays on God in modern literature, psychology and the arts. The last part deals with specific problems such as causality and suffering. Each essay is concluded by a useful list of basic bibliography on the subject. An index of names mentioned in the text concludes this extremely interesting volume.

God in Contemporary Thought broadens and deepens the human knowledge and experience of God. It is a valuable and convenient source of scholarly information which deserves the careful attention of all theologians, philosophers and students of the ecumenical movement.

Constantine N. Tsirpanlis
U.T.S.

ΚΟΣΜΑΣ Ο ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ: Ο ΟΡΘΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΤΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΜΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΛΕΥΤΕΡΙΑΣ. By Konstantinos G. Makrykostas. Introduction by Metropolitan Georgios of Nikaia. Athens: Tenos Publication, 1979. Pp. 112. Illustrated. Paper. 80 drachmas.

ΚΟΣΜΑΣ Ο ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ (1714-1779) ΣΥΝΑΞΑΡΙΟΝ, ΔΙΔΑΧΑΙ-ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΙΑ-ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΙΑ. By Bishop Augoustinos N. Kantiotes, Metropolitan

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**JOHN HENRY NEWMAN
A STARTING-POINT FOR REDISCOVERING THE
CATHOLICITY OF THE FATHERS TODAY**

No-one who opens a Newman book, whether biographical or theological, historical or poetical, can remain indifferent to him. As soon as one attempts to read a few pages, one finds that he is drawn to him, guided, as it were, by an irresistible and indefinable power. A person encounters what Newmanists have called "the mystery of Newman." This mystery helps one to see oneself as in a mirror and to traverse through the various stages of human development and experience. The more one comes to know Newman, the more one discovers the mystery of oneself in its various manifestations and ultimately in its apophatic openness, which reflects on the human ontological level the unfathomable openness of the mystery of God revealed and hidden at the same time.

Newman stimulates, provokes, even exasperates. But he does not fill the soul with anxiety, anger, or even despair. He argues and at times he becomes fearfully polemical, but his aim is neither the argument, nor polemicism. He argues because he is seriously and genuinely involved in the mystery of our human life, and is, as it were, compelled to do so by a mysterious impulse, which springs from the depths of his human existence. There is something very dramatic here, which is staged by Newman as a way of life and which is resolved only when it is accepted as unresolved. This is not just Newman's own drama, but the drama of human existence and of all human beings living together in the modern European culture and community.

Newman's drama consists of a number of clearly distinguished stages, which comprise clearly discernible themes. But, and this is a very important but, when one has familiarized oneself with these stages, one realizes that they are transient—serving merely to connect or to introduce. They lead beyond themselves. The theses which are embedded in them, however positive and even ultimate they may sound, and this is often the case, do not mark ends but beginnings. Newman leads to summits of positive thought and action and as soon as one is there, one is compelled to descend, because the summit should not make a person look down on what

lies beyond. In spite of the summits, Newman exhibits a constant development and an unceasing organically interrelated activity. Even when he asserts that he has now settled and that he has arrived at some kind of secure ground and certainty, he speaks in such a way, that his observer immediately suspects that he is really begging the question.¹

Newmanists, and there are many of them, have anatomized Newman's development examining it backwards, and forwards, and also internally in its own material context. Taken together, these impressive studies have shown what might be called the 'antinomies' of the man, which, however, far from pointing to contradictions lead to a direct vision of reality and as such have a liberating effect on human psychology. They may be said to represent a rigorous modern application of the patristic combination of apophatic and cataphatic statements and actions, which point beyond themselves to the reality of the divine icon and its charismatic reflection on man.

This means that in Newman, as in the Fathers of the Church the person and the work cannot be extrapolated from the actual history and life. The one reveals the other and the two are never confounded. Newman's statements and acts never define, or explain his personality. He makes them tentatively, with specific intentions, to meet specific circumstances and requirements, but in all their transience and relativity, they point to something which is far greater and far more important, something which constitutes the indefinable datum of existence. To dispel the charge of obscurity, an attempt will be now made to explain as far as possible what is meant by all this.

To state it unreservedly and in a straightforward manner, it must be said that what is meant is the catholic person, or catholic man, who reveals not only himself, but all men, whose life is not just his own private affair, but is interrelated with the lives and persons of all men. His problems are not only his, but the problems of all men. He is a catholic, and he is seeking to be nothing but that, in what he says and does. He is aware, that he often fails to do so, but he is consistent in his intention or his aim. He seeks not to lose sight of his catholic aim, even when the drama of his life leads him to dramatic summits of act or thought. In fact, he comes to such summits, because of his determination to be a catholic. So, Newman the catholic man, remains always a focal point of the whole. He is in touch with the whole and is seeking to develop with it and within it. This is how he understands his faith. He is defi-

nately one single, distinct, and unique reality, but all this singleness, distinctness, and uniqueness is to be seen in the power to extend and apprehend the whole and not to limit or particularize. This is the capacity to be all-embracing, but not possessive or restrictive. This capacity is not the product of, either an aggressive totalitarian determinism, or of a self-indulgent alienated individualism. It is the capacity of the person in communion, who concretely reveals the pattern of proper development, in the contemporary life-context, where the dilemma between 'being now' and 'not being yet' is a necessary parameter of life and where one is given power for life, but has to grow in it and strive to attain to its perfection.

In the last analysis, Newman's development is not of the same quality as any other development. It is not merely ideological or logical. It is not merely individual or liberal. It is not merely all-encompassing or wholesome. It must be put in inverted commas, or written in italics, because it is all of them at the same time. It is ecclesial, theological, rooted in the mystery of Christ and His Church in which the mystery of creation and redemption is revealed; in one word, it is catholic.

The term 'catholic' is undoubtedly central to Newman's vocabulary and sums up all his experience and life. Whether he is in the Anglican Church in Oxford, or in the Roman Church in the Oratory in Birmingham, Newman is searching after the same thing, catholicity. Catholicity is like a magnet, which sustains him in his work and life-search, or is like a compass, which shows him the true orientation in his life. It would be a misunderstanding, to argue that Newman became a Roman Catholic only in October 1845, when he threw himself at the feet of Father Dominic. This was certainly a great summit for him, but it cannot be understood as an ultimate terminus or as an absolute beginning, as if Newman had not ascended to other high summits either before or after his reception by the Roman Church.² Newman would not have come to this hour had he not discovered catholicity in his Anglican days. The Tractarian Movement in Oxford and particularly the discovery of the patristic dimension in the Christian tradition, were not unrelated to Newman's initiation and growth into catholic truth and indeed to his becoming a Roman Catholic. Even though Newman had bitter things to say about the catholicity of his fellow Anglicans when he became a Roman Catholic, the fact remains that the patristic catholicity, which he sought to affirm as Roman Catholic, was substantially based on his earlier Anglo-catholic days. This is

how Newman's development should be seen. But one must go deeper into his catholicity and see it in its original biblical and patristic context, where Newman discovered it in the first instance.

Newman says again and again that the Fathers made him a catholic.³ When he read the Fathers, Newman understood the Bible in another way, the catholic way, which he contrasted to what he called the modern liberal approach. In 1845 Newman asserted that the Bible and the Apostolic tradition cannot be properly understood outside their proper patristic *sitz-im-leben*.⁴ Newman certainly did not reject the so-called scientific approach to the Bible, i.e. the literary-historical-critical method, which pursues the investigation of the Bible in the light of the general historical and cultural context within which it emerged. What he did reject as liberalism and fight vehemently against, was the exclusive application of this approach, which ignores church history and the 'proper' historical setting or context of the Bible, the living apostolic community, the Catholic Church of the Fathers. The context of the Bible is not simply that of general history, but primarily of the particular historical context of the Apostolic Church within which the Bible emerged and which has a soteriological, existential and therefore a normative status. From the general historical perspective, the apostolic-patristic context may look too particular and narrow. But from the patristic ecclesial perspective this context is catholic in a qualitative sense and it is precisely because of this catholic quality that the catholic church and her catholic dogmas emerge in history as the supreme criteria of truth including the truth of the Bible.⁵

It is the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of the Fathers that ensures authoritatively, normatively and critically, the historic continuity of the apostolic community and her apostolic faith and praxis. To place the apostolic Scriptures outside this context is to risk altering their intention. The general approach to the Bible, in spite of its relevance, if taken exclusively, impregnates divisions and heresies in the created and redeemed world, which the Gospel of the One Christ and the One Apostolic and Catholic Church proclaims and serves.

Newman's patristic ecclesial ethos has been very well appraised by the late Oratorian Father Charles Stephen Dessain, himself a distinguished Newmanist. Dessain has argued that "Newman is himself an embodiment of the Eastern Tradition, an upholder in the West of the theology of the Eastern Fathers, and it is in this that his great value lies for the Apostolate of ecumenism between East

and West.”⁶

Dessain goes on:

[Newman] held strongly that the most necessary part of the work for unity lay ‘in due preparation of heart’ [the inner man, the person], ‘raising men to one and the same moral and intellectual state of mind,’ ‘levelling up’ [i.e., catholicizing the particular human person]. ‘We cannot begin from the foundations,’ [Newman wrote].⁷ Certainly if East and West are to come together [and here we would add, if the divided West is to be reintegrated], we must go back to the Fathers we share in common and form our mentality, our theological outlook on them. This has been realized and there has been a return to the sources, a *resourcement*. A hundred and fifty years ago Newman returned to the sources. His theology from the beginning of the Oxford movement was saturated with the teaching of the Eastern Fathers. That is the reason why it was sometimes felt to be uncongenial in the Latin West, although chiefly by the intergrists and extremists of the day. In 1865, we find Newman writing of them in *A Letter to Pusey*: that, because they are thoroughgoing and relentless in their statements, therefore they are the harbingers of a new age, when to show a deference to Antiquity [the Fathers and the ancient Catholic Church] will be thought little else than a mistake. For myself ... I am not ashamed still to take my stand upon the Fathers, and do not mean to budge. The history of their times is not yet an old almanac for me. Of course I maintain the value and authority of the ‘Schola’ [the mediaeval Roman Catholic scholastic theologians], as one of the *loci theologici*; nevertheless I sympathise with Petavius in preferring to the ‘contentious and subtle theology’ of the middle age, that ‘more elegant and fruitful teaching which is moulded after the image of erudite Antiquity.’⁸

There are numerous parallel statements in Newman and all of them point to the fact that he represents a concrete, living starting point for the rediscovery of the Greek Fathers in the West today. Historicism, mainly emanating from the loss of *ekklesiastikon phronema* and its replacement by a spirit of polemicism and antagonism in the era of schism and division, had managed to cover up the catholic truth of the Fathers and the Bible and present it in the idiom of its own general historical relativism and obscurantism. But Newman had seen the patristic and apostolic truth from the original sources, from what to his opponents seemed to have been “the subjective, fixed or inside stance.” He knew in the personal

depths of his own being that the Fathers of the Catholic Church and their catholic dogmas were in touch with the catholic truth both personal and natural, which is the one and only truth for the world and for its history. So, he sought through writing and action to restate the patristic truth of catholicity for his own times and in the modern linguistic and cultural idiom. No work of Newman is deprived of this patristic quality, and its particular value lies in the fact that the patristic catholic heritage of the truth of the Gospel is communicated by Newman in the language of the Modern World. Newmanists have stressed the modernity of Newman.⁸

Though this is correct, it is extremely important not to forget that Newman's modernity is not modernism, because it is patristic, or perhaps more accurately, neo-patristic. One cannot go back to the Fathers and their catholic Church by way of an anachronistic conservatism, ignoring in an ostrich-like manner the history of division which has taken hold of humanity, not only in a formal institutional way but also existentially, psychologically and personally. The contemporary challenge of historical division has to be met directly and honestly and an attempt must be made to overcome it historically through responsible dialogue and action, just as the great Fathers of the One Catholic Church met and overcame historically the pluralistic and totalitarian challenges of the general history of their times. The Fathers can and must, according to Newman, be the guides in the contemporary ecumenical task because they taught and applied the principles governing the catholic response to the challenge of discord and division presented to them by the old Hellenistic pluralist culture. This is what Newman began to do in the modern cultural context, pointing out through his own life work and development that the contemporary cultural challenge to Christianity is not easy to overcome, because contemporary culture—being a post-Christian one—on the one hand naively rejects the old catholic past and on the other exists parasitically on the illusion that the inherited strengths and values (in spite of fragmentation) of the Christian world cultivated in the Catholic Church of the Fathers will preserve Christianity. Newman's neo-patristic catholicity has sown afresh the Christian seed in the modern world. The result of this has not been simply a blessing for Roman Catholics, but has opened the way for fundamental ecumenical activity among the Roman Catholic Church and the churches of the Reformation and indeed the Orthodox Church. With regard to the Orthodox it could be argued that Newman approached the Orthodox Church in an

oblique but fundamental way by embracing the Orthodox Fathers of the East, appropriating to himself their catholic *ekklesiastikon phronema* and making it the basis of his Roman Catholicism.⁹

In so far as Newman's stance was patristically catholic, his entry into the Roman Catholic Church represents the opening of a way in the West for reconciliation with the East. The catholicity of the Fathers is extremely important for understanding Newman properly and assessing rightly his significance for the contemporary Roman Catholic Church and indeed the contemporary historical manifestation of the *Una Sancta*. This, however, requires further examination and clarification.

In Newman's neo-patristic catholic Christianity, catholicity cannot be seen as an abstract theory. It is true that in the university context of Oxford and especially in the context of the doctrinal dialectical debate between Anglicans and Romans, i.e., in the context of schism and division, Newman had at first to state catholicity in a merely dogmatic and apologetic manner. But the more he examined the Fathers, the more he came to realize that catholicity could not be merely a dogmatical confessionalist position, a matter of abstract objectivist theorisation. The Fathers and the study of the early ecclesiastical history brought home to Newman the truth that catholicity is primarily an existential historical theological reality, which embraces the whole man, individually and socially, and has world-wide ecumenical dimensions.

It was in the Fathers—existing and acting concretely in history as catholic persons—that Newman met the real force of catholic reality. The Fathers were concrete manifestations, embodiments, witnesses to the living pattern of the truth which undercuts behind the roots of the divisions sown by human failure and sin. They were imbued with the life-giving power of God who in Christ has taken up human weakness, redeemed it, and perfected it forever. Newman saw in the Fathers the primordial realities of human existence, which are connected with God's dealings with men, the economies of creation and redemption. He found in the Fathers the Christ of the Apostles as the life-giving Spirit active in the history of mankind and leading it to conformity with His spiritual and perfect form.

It is in the mystery of Christ's presence in the history of the world, and in the consummated eucharistic, that the heart of Newman's catholic truth should be found and not in the particular historical incidents of his life. He saw this mystery through the Fathers and sought to affirm it existentially and historically

in his own particular time and historical context. This context is the contemporary Roman Catholic Church in which, for various reasons, Newman came to lay bare his patristic treasures. In his own historical circumstances he felt that he could not turn anywhere else. To indulge in academic speculation at this point from any confessional point of view, even an Orthodox one, would be worthless.

Nevertheless, it must be recognised that Newman's Roman turn does not constitute the primary significance of Newman. It is far more important and true to Newman that he be seen as a gift of the Fathers of the Church to the Roman Church, rather than that he and his catholicity be placed into formal Roman models. For the sake of Rome first and for the ecumenical Church also, it must be urged that Newman's conversion may not be treated as his ultimate summit or end. The catholicity of Rome, like the catholicity of any other Church in East or West, has to be assessed in an patristic way. This is the catholicity which ultimately is, and remains, the free gift of God and as such, cannot be controlled or conditioned by human boundaries, or human forms and institutions.

The catholic history of the Church, what is called sacred or salvation history, is the manifestation and as such the criterion of the God-given and God-established catholicity. When this is fully realized, then salvation history and the Holy Church in history become critical of the profane and general history. This catholicity is never restrictive, even when it functions critically within the context of the general history of the world. Even when the restrictive challenge of heresy arises, catholicity does not restrict the restrictions because its integrity is ecumenical, free, and all embracing. It is so easy to forget this, and it often happens that the historical schism which exists in the historical Christian churches today, is perpetuated because restrictive action is undertaken and the easy option of subjecting the unboundable gift of God to human limitations and whims is expediently adopted. God's presence and act (i.e., the catholic truth), communicated in the Eucharist and in the apostolic functions, which persist in various degrees among the Christian churches, makes Christians aware of the problem and scandal of the schism and the attempt is made to rectify the situation by restricting the restrictions. But this is what the Fathers resisted, because they realized that this way leads to the trap of a tortuous and vicious dialecticism, which has deadly consequences for those caught in it.

By resisting this restrictive way, the Fathers were able to mani-

fest the catholic truth in a history which has by its quality acquired normative status for all history including our own. Newman saw and sought to appropriate this patristic stance. Again and again Newman realized and stressed that faith is always above or preceding reason, as freedom and love precede law and order, and therefore that orthodoxy does not dialogue with heresy while employing equal terms. Even when orthodoxy employs heretical terms, she employs them negatively and differentially, because she ultimately remains all-embracing and ecumenical, rather than restrictive and particularist.¹⁰ Orthodoxy always views the whole and argues with catholic terms and statements, because God views it all and, because the range of God's eternal and incorruptible grace, established in Christ and the foundation of the Church in the world, is and remains all-embracing and catholic.

Because of the Fathers, this is what an orthodox and patristic theological perspective would reaffirm today. Also this perspective would point to Cardinal Newman with approbation in as much as he rediscovered the catholic truth of the Fathers and restated it for this time and this world. Is this not what Roman Catholics should affirm today because of their Newman? Should they not be ready to say, rather than try to fit Newman's catholicity into another restrictive context, whether this is cultural or ecclesiastical? Newman's neo-patristic catholic perspectives reveal that his 'Roman-arguments' are not 'Roman' ends and should not be treated as such. Nor should his 'anti-statements'—Roman, Anglican, and Protestant—be regarded to be such ends. Roman, Anglican, and Protestant Newmanists alike, are tempted to do just that. But this temptation does not apply simply to Newman. It applies to the Fathers also. Contemporary patristic scholarship does not read the Fathers in their proper catholic context, their own *sitz-im-leben*, the life of grace, which—repeated, is not restrictive, antithetical, polemical, or dialectical, but holistic, constructive, creative and liberating, because it is imbued with the virtue of humility and free submission to the power and grace of God, which constitutes the unfailing foundation of man and his world.

Newman developed catholically and believed in catholic development. He was concerned with human development in God's grace, rather than the development of abstract forms. The essence of the Church, the atonement, established in Christ and given to humanity in and through the ministrations of the visible apostolic and catholic Church could not change. The resurrection, the fundamental locus of the new creation, the catholic Church, is an established and

perfect reality, the catholic truth. But mankind is given in the pentecostal gift the ability to participate in it and taste its powers so that it may transform the old history and proceed through death to the pleroma of the resurrection. Christians are catholics *in via*, in development and growth. They seek to integrate themselves with the whole world, because they know that all belongs to Him who makes, redeems from sin and gives the gift of eternal and blessed life. Christians know that He is constantly coming to make them whole in His wholeness and integrate the world with catholicity. This is what Newman has bequeathed to the modern Roman Church and through her to all the Christian churches everywhere—the catholic truth of the Risen Lord with all its implications for Christian life and growth in history. This becomes particularly apparent in his cardinal words, his *Biglietto Speech*, which was given in Rome, the city where the holy apostles Peter and Paul were martyred and the patristic faith was upheld, about one hundred years ago. The following extract has particular relevance for today:

In a long course of years I have made many mistakes. I have nothing of that high perfection which belongs to the writings of the saints, viz. that error cannot be found in them; but what I trust that I may claim all through what I have written, is this—an honest intention, an absense of private ends, a temper of obedience, a willingness to be corrected, a dread of error, a desire to serve the Holy Church, and through Divine mercy, a fair measure of success. And, I rejoice to say, to one great mischief I have from the first opposed myself. For thirty, forty, fifty years I have resisted to the best of my powers the spirit of Liberalism in religion. Never did the Holy Church need champions against it more sorely than now, when, alas!, it is an error overspreading, as a snare, the whole earth; and on this great occasion, when it is natural for one who is in my place to look out upon the world, and upon the Holy Church as in it, and upon her future, it will not, I hope, be considered out of place, if I renew the protest against it which I have made so often.

Liberalism in religion is the doctrine that there is no positive truth in religion, but that one creed is as good as another, and this is the teaching which is gaining substance and force daily. It is inconsistent with any recognition of any religion, as true. It teaches that all are to be tolerated, for all are matters of opinion. Revealed religion is not a truth, but a sentiment and a taste; not an objective fact, not miraculous; and it is the right of each individual to make it say just what strikes his fancy. Devotion is not necessarily

founded on faith. Men may go to Protestant Churches and to Catholic, may get good from both and belong to neither. They may fraternize together in spiritual thoughts and feelings, without having any views at all of doctrines in common, or seeing the need of them. Since, then, religion is so personal a peculiarity and so private a possession, we must of necessity ignore it in the intercourse of man with man. If a man puts on a new religion every morning, what is that to you? It is as impertinent to think about a man's religion as about his sources of income or his management of his family. Religion is in no sense the bond of society . . .

Hitherto, it has been considered that religion alone, with its supernatural sanctions, was strong enough to secure submission of the masses of our population to law and order; now the philosophers and politicians are bent on satisfying this problem without the aid of Christianity. Instead of the Church's authority and teaching, they would substitute first of all a universal and thoroughly secular education, calculated to bring home to every individual that to be orderly, industrious and sober is his personal interest. Then for great working principles to take the place of religion, for the use of the masses thus carefully educated, it provides the broad fundamental ethical truths, of justice, benevolence, veracity, and the like: proved experience; and those natural laws which exist and act spontaneously in society, and in social matters; whether physical or psychological; for instance, in government, trade, finance, sanitary experiments, and the intercourse of the nations. As to religion, it is a private luxury, which a man may have if he will, but which of course he must pay for, and which he must not obtrude upon others, or indulge in to their annoyance. The great nature of this *apostasia* is one and the same everywhere: but in detail, and in character, it varies in different countries . . . [Newman goes on to speak of this Liberalism and its impact in the English context . . . and concludes with the following statements:] There never was a device of the Enemy so cleverly framed and with such promise of success. And already it has answered to the expectations which have been formed of it. It is sweeping into its own ranks great numbers of able, earnest, virtuous men, elderly men of approved antecedents, young men with a career before them. Such is the state of things in England, and it's as well that it should be realized by all of us: but it must not be supposed for a moment that I am afraid of it. I lament it deeply, because I foresee that it may be the ruin of

many souls; but I have no fear at all that it really can do aught of serious harm to the Word of God, to the Holy Church, to our Almighty King, the Lion of the Tribe of Judah, Faithful and True, or to his Vicar on earth. Christianity has been too often in what seemed deadly peril, that we should fear for it any new trial now. So far is certain. On the other hand, what is uncertain and in these great contests commonly is uncertain, and what is commonly a great surprise, when it is witnessed, is the particular mode by which, in the event, Providence rescues and saves His elect inheritance. Sometimes our enemy is turned into a friend; sometimes he is dispoiled of that special virulence of evil which was so threatening; sometimes he falls to pieces of himself; sometimes he does just so much as is beneficial, and then is removed. Commonly the Church has nothing more to do than to go on in her own proper duties, in confidence and peace, to stand still and to see the salvation of God.¹¹

Four basic points stand out in this prophetic speech. Firstly, Newman's catholic humility which makes him recognize his own shortcomings; secondly, his confession of his catholic consistency seen in his unswerving pursuit of the catholic truth; thirdly, his uncompromising renunciation of liberalism, the distinctive heresy of post-Christian European culture, which, as Newman predicted so profoundly, is designed to unnerve Christianity of its proper catholic dimension; and lastly, Newman's total faith and confidence in the sovereignty of the catholic truth, the One Risen Lord who is and remains the incorruptible and unfailing basis of human existence and history in the world.

The *Biglietto Speech* clearly shows that Newman, like the Fathers, does not look at the Church in institutional historicist terms, but subjects all her institutional historical peculiarities and genius, including the cardinal's hat, to the reality of God's grace. It is so easy to appraise institutions when cardinal honors and titles are conferred. But Newman does not do this, because he is truly catholic in the same sense as the Fathers. Newman's catholicity leads to the very essence of the Church, the life-giving presence and act of God in history, which destroys all the arguments against Roman Catholicism and indeed all other locally and historically established catholicisms. Had he put the emphasis on the externalities of history, on the Roman features, rather than on the mystery of God's abiding presence with humanity in spite of human inadequacies, as God's free gift, free from all necessity and restriction, perhaps Newman would not have been remembered today. Is this not the patristic

ethos which affirms the incidental in the essential, and therefore transforms the incidental into a real means of truth and conquest? Newman, the Roman Catholic Cardinal, has fought for the true ecumenical activity, because he has borne witness to the catholicity of the Church.

Catholicity is confessed, affirmed, witnesses to in history, but it is never converted into a formal abstract objective principle. It is the life-giving presence and power of God Himself in and through the Risen Christ. This means that the Roman Catholic Church is not catholic because it is Roman, but catholic as Roman. Newman goes thus far and in this he brings out the truth of the Roman Church. But here one must pause and raise the critical question. Could this not be affirmed with reference to other churches? Could one not affirm the same catholicity which is rooted in God's gracious act as Greek, English, etc. i.e., as ecumenical? The Fathers, from whom Newman learned the catholic truth and realized it in the context of the Roman Catholic Church, would reply affirmatively here. Newman did see this, and confessed it in his Anglo-catholic days. One finds statements in his Anglo-catholic works, which are indeed catholic and which are full of significance for Anglicanism first, but also for the relation of Anglicanism. If later on the catholicity of Anglo-catholicism appeared to Newman's eyes to have been merely a matter of theory, whereas that of Roman catholicism was a matter of practice, could one not today, in recognising Newman's patristic understanding of catholicity as resting on the mystery of God's free Presence and act in human history, assert, at least as a possibility, that the practice of catholicity can also be realized outside the Roman context? The intention here in raising this question is not the construction of an apology for the catholicity of Anglicanism or any other church. Each church has to demonstrate her catholicity to the other churches not in dialectical and formalistic arguments, but in a real practical theological and historical way. The question is raised from an Orthodox perspective, which is that a non-Roman catholicity exists, not merely as a possibility but as a reality, and rests on the one, catholic truth of God's grace established in the Risen Lord and his gracious act in history. It is also raised because, again from an Orthodox perspective, this question is extremely important for the Christian response to the contemporary liberal secular challenge to Christianity, which threatens the world with further divisions and pain.

Newmanists would agree that a deep and careful examination of Newman's Roman Catholicism would have to be seen qualitatively

rather than formally, and as resting on the catholic truth which is freely and graciously given by the Lord of the Church, not only to the Roman Church, but also to the other Churches who remain faithful to his apostolic and patristic act in history. For an Orthodox theologian who is basically committed to the apostolic and ecumenical tradition of the Fathers, this claim is inevitable. But an Orthodox would not stop here. By drawing out such implications from Newman, the true and new-patristic Roman Catholic, an Orthodox would not simply argue for the real possibility of the Greek Catholic, or English Catholic, or any other Christian Catholic as distinct from the Roman Catholic. Like Newman and the Fathers, an Orthodox would not tolerate a local catholicism which is self-complacent and does not seriously seek to integrate itself with the other local catholicisms, which the Lord creates and sustains in spite of human inadequacies and the relativities of the history of division.

Local catholicity belongs to the one catholicity of the one Catholic Church. This is where the most critical point in Newman's development lies and it is connected with his conversion from Anglo-catholicism to Roman Catholicism and here one should be careful to understand it properly. In his Anglican search for catholic truth Newman came to feel that if Anglo-catholics were really seeking to be catholics in history and practice and not just in theory, they ought to seek to overcome the historical schism and reintegrate themselves with Roman Catholics. Newman had learned from the Fathers that catholicity which is established locally, seeks to grow horizontally in a catholic community in history, i.e., engages in ecumenical activity which aims at the reintegration of the whole world on the basis of the one grace of God the Creator and Redeemer of the one world.

Newman moved out of the Anglo-catholic historical context, not because his fellow Anglo-catholics did not seek to appropriate the catholicity of the Fathers which rests on God's grace, but because to his judgment, the *Ecclesia Anglicana* taken as a whole did not, and in a sense could not, at that time, seek to be historically and ecumenically catholic. This was primarily due to the compromise between Protestants¹² and Catholics within the Anglican Church on the basis of a principle of comprehensiveness. In practice, the Evangelical Protestant element appeared to have divided decisively between Christ and His Church and therefore between apostolicity and catholicity. The Anglo-catholics had a far more satisfactory ecclesiology, because they did not operate with Christomonistic principles; yet, because of their compromise in accepting Anglican

comprehensiveness, they were unable to develop their catholicism ecumenically.

Newman rejected Protestantism because, as he understood it, it posited an unresolved tension between Christ and His Church in history, as if grace could not take real root in humanity, or as if the Risen Lord could not establish real links with human history, in short, as if Pentecost had not really taken place. On the other hand, Newman reacted firmly and forcefully against his fellow Anglo-catholics, because he felt that their quest for catholicity, based on a rigorous investigation of the patristic dimension of the ancient Catholic Church and its restatement by the great Anglican divines, was becoming merely a confessional, theoretical and restrictive weapon to be used only in dialectical disputes with the Roman Catholics and therefore stood for a self-indulgent catholicity rather than ecumenical activity. Put simply, Newman removed himself from the Anglican communion because he understood, that, in the light of the apostolic patristic tradition, locally established catholicity could not become self-complacent, or self-endulging, without jeopardizing its integrity and truthfulness. In patristic ecclesiology the individual man is not in opposition to the local church community, neither are the catholic local Churches in opposition to the ecumenical catholic Church. In the catholic Church the one and the many are not in dialectical but in reciprocal relationship and the principle that governs this relation is that of interpenetration (*enoikesis*, *emperichoresis*, *circumincessio*), which is an essential aspect of the image and the similitude of God in man. Newman felt that, given the Protestant-Catholic structure of the Anglican Church, the tractarian Anglo-catholics could not eventually affirm catholicity ecumenically and overcome the problem of schism and division. They could only affirm their catholicity in an introspective manner, which could not but unnerve it and make it a matter of theory. Whether he was fully right on this, especially as far as the Anglo-catholic Tractarians were concerned, was and is, a matter of unresolved debate, and it may be argued that it cannot be resolved until there is a bilateral action from both Roman Catholics and Anglicans in the light of the ecumenical catholicity of the holy tradition of the Apostles and the Fathers.¹² From an Orthodox patristic theological perspective Newman was right in principle, irrespectively of whether correct or incorrect in particular application. On this last question there is probably no easy answer. Newman's application of his ecumenical catholic principle was extremely beneficial for the Roman Catholic Church. To mention but one

proof, the developments leading up to and beyond Vatican II certainly witness to this. Perhaps it also had some similar effects for Anglicanism, simply in a negative way, but it probably meant a serious set back to the Anglo-catholic revival within the Anglican Church and even within the other ecclesiastical bodies in England.

Newman was right when he said that local catholicity, which is not ecumenically alert and does not seek to grow in ecumenical relations, is exposing itself to the danger of becoming a mere theory without flesh and bones, time and space. But one has to acknowledge the peculiar difficulties besetting the ecumenical activity in the context of the historically sanctioned and institutionalized schismatic situations. It was in this context that Newman sought, by the mysterious grace of God, to discover and appropriate in his own life and existence the catholic truth, without counting the sacrifices and consequences. His fellow Anglo-catholics were seeking to do the same.¹³ One should not think that they were less zealous for the truth and less ready to appropriate it existentially and practically suffer the consequences. But, because they conducted their catholic quest in the context of a historically established ecclesiastical schism, they were faced with an inescapably terrible dilemma, namely, whether to proceed individually or ecclesiastically. Having appropriated catholicity as individuals and as a Church group, they found that they could not act ecumenically toward Rome without risking their relationship with the Anglican Church which as a whole was not ready for such action and activity. So they concentrated their efforts within the Anglican communion until catholicity would be fully integrated and restored from the inside and the whole Ecclesia would be able to engage in ecumenical action. The hard fact remained that the schism had run its historical course and could only be overcome by a counter anti-schismatic history. Newman's Anglo-catholic friends followed the second option, remaining faithful to the original aspiration of the Tractarian movement. Newman however, chose the first alternative, i.e., he chose to meet the ecumenical implications of his personal appropriation of catholic truth with personal action. There is no clear answer to the critical question which history poses here. Who would not find it difficult to arbitrate between Newman and Pusey? Who would not acknowledge the catholicity of both, the personal ecumenism of the catholic Newman (demonstrated in his conversion to Rome), and the restrained ecumenism of the catholic Pusey (demonstrated in his catholic activity within the Anglican Church)? One must say this, because there can be no illusions concerning

the grave and disastrous repercussions of the historical schism in the Catholic Church.

On the other hand, one must not attribute such a status to the schismatic history, thus justifying a parochial catholic activity. The Fathers never did this. With the Fathers and also with Newman, one must acknowledge the same, remembering that catholicity, once historically established, cannot be totally wiped out by any schism. It may be said that catholicity, especially in its ecumenical aspect, is covered up, obscured, buried in the ruins of division, or even imprisoned in the institutions of the schism. But, the ecclesial faith in God the founder or giver of catholicity requires of Christians to hold that catholicity survives even as a tiny flame, either behind the ashes and skeletons, or in the labyrinthian palaces and institutions which the schism brings about. On these considerations, it would be wrong to argue that Newman's conversion to Roman Catholicism is a proof of either his own true introduction to catholic truth, or the total failure of Anglo-catholicism in being catholic. No one who has looked at history carefully could deny that the Anglo-catholic revival of the nineteenth century was a serious attempt to recover or revive the historically established catholicity of the English Church, not only in catholic theory, but also in catholic practice and life. On the same considerations, however, it must be said that Newman was not a traitor of the English Church, or of his Anglo-catholic associates by his converting to Roman Catholicism. He became inflamed with the incorruptible and eternal vision of the Church and its historical manifestation before the schism, into which the Fathers of the Catholic Church introduced him. From the historical phenomenological point of view Newman's deep anxiety and anguish over his conversion from Anglo-catholicism to Roman Catholicism can be explained psychologically. But from the perspective of the catholic truth, Newman experienced the agony and anxiety of Gethsemane,¹⁶ what he called in his *Apologia*, the *experimentum crucis*.

Is this not the 'inevitable' situation of the catholic man, who, having tasted the catholic powers of God's grace, seeks to act redemptively in the *concretum* of his own historical situation in order to overcome the scandal of schismatical history? Is it not contemporary Christian realism to say that Newman, the Anglican who became a Roman Catholic because of the Orthodox Fathers, represents a proleptic manifestation of forthcoming ecclesial events, and that he is a sign of the historical reconciliation of the Anglican Church with the Roman Church at the intervention of the Greek

Church? Is this not the result of the incorruptible and eternal catholic truth established by the Triune God in the Risen Christ, the Lord of history? There is good reason for arguing that Newman never ceased to be Anglican. He was a catholic Anglican who integrated the distinctive qualities of his English Christianity with Roman Catholicism. The result has been well appraised by Newmanists. The great and daring and, in many ways, forward-looking decrees of Vatican II have been rightly associated with God's gift of Newman to the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁷

It should be stressed today that Newman is an Anglican gift to the Roman Catholics given to them by the Orthodox Fathers, because the common catholic history of the Fathers still persists among the divided churches and no human schism can ultimately wipe it out. The implications of this statement are extremely urgent. Newman's development and experience is God's challenge to all three, Anglicans, Romans and Orthodox. He is a 'thorn in the flesh', until there is growth out of the antinomies of the schismatic history, and act in accordance with the common catholic Fathers and common catholic history. Newman is a representative of the kind of challenge that the Holy God and the Holy Church send to the local churches divided and perplexed by the historically schismatic fabrication, a sign and a stumbling stone (Rom. 9.33) witnessing to the forthcoming renewal of the history of the Church and the world. This is basically an ecumenical challenge, if seen in its proper dimension. It is the one mother of all the churches, which follow the apostolic and patristic tradition, that has raised Newman to indicate to them, who seek to grow in her and serve her today, what the contemporary ecumenical task really is. It is extremely important that the patristic manifestation of this task is seen as the supreme pattern of catholic ecumenical activity in history. The Fathers concentrated so much on the catholic grace and truth of the Risen Lord as the caput of God's atonement with mankind, that, in spite of the attacks and the resistance of the ancient world (the old order of the old man), they were enabled by the Holy Paraclete to manifest in history such a remarkable catholicity and bequeath to posterity the firm foundations of contemporary existence and hope.

The history of schism and heresy, which originally divided Eastern from Western Christendom, with its terrible results in both East and West—the East suffered persecution and resorted to a kind of anti-Nicene underground existence and the West was divided and trapped into a dialectical snare of credal, institutional, sociological,

and even psychological individualisms—must be overcome historically with the weapons of catholic truth, the catholic reintegration of the local churches and the restoration of their catholic ecumenical unity. Newman has given warning about the historical urgency of this task and predicted the disastrous rise of liberalism (or secularism) which grows where catholic ecumenical activity is not undertaken.

Liberalism and secularism have today become the greatest enemies of catholic truth, because they unnerve it from its communal existential capacity, its positive openness to God and to the whole world. This is what Newman's cardinal words were about. But, apart from the warning, Newman has also supplied the prophetic vision of faith in God's intervention and in the manifestation of God's catholic and incorruptible truth in the modern world and modern historical context. By pointing to the heart of the catholic faith, Newman has supplied every reason for optimism and hopefulness today for catholic Christians who are called to meet the challenges of contemporary culture in the international community. No catholic Christian can forget Newman's *dictum* which he borrowed from the great Fathers St. Ambrose and St. Gregory Nazianzenos, *non in dialectica complacuit Deo saluum facere populum summ.*¹⁸

Every catholic Christian should remember Newman's claim that one cannot begin from the top, but must begin from the foundations. If the catholics observe this, they shall never make the summits of positive thought and action, which are reached in their contemporary ecumenical activity, their ends but their beginnings. Catholics are catholics *in via* until the Lord of the Church brings to completion his holy purposes for them and for the whole ecumene.

NOTES

This study was based on a lecture delivered in Rome in 1979 at the celebrations of the centenary of John Henry Newman's cardinalate.

1. See, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, ed. with intr. by M. J. Svalgic (Oxford, 1967). On p. 214 Newman writes: "From the time that I became a Catholic, of course I have no further history of my religious opinions to narrate. In saying this, I do not mean to say that my mind has been idle, or that I have given up thinking on theological subjects; but that I have had no variations to record, and have had no anxiety of heart whatever. I have been in perfect peace and contentment." I am of the opinion that this seemingly double-talk points to the mystery of Newman.

2 See *ibid* , "I was not conscious to myself, on my conversion, of any change, intellectual or moral, wrought in my mind I was not conscious of a firmer faith in the fundamental truths of Revelation, or of more self-command, I had no more fervour, but it was like coming into port after a rough sea and my happiness on that score remains to this day without interruption "

3 Newman was first introduced to the Fathers through Joseph Milner's *Church History* which he read when he was only fifteen years old (*ibid* pp 19-20) As late as 1827 Newman had no other patristic source except Milner (*ibid* p 26) It was in the summer of 1829 that, as he himself says, his "early devotion towards the Fathers returned, and in the Long Vacation of 1828 I set about to read them chronologically, beginning with St Ignatius and St Justin " He then read Bull's famous *Defensio* of the Council of Nicaea and eventually he came to believe that "antiquity was the true exponent of the doctrines of Christianity and the basis of the Church of England" (*ibid* p 35) Newman was further drawn into the study of the Fathers, when he was commissioned to furnish a history of the Council of Nicaea The result was one of his most famous books, *The Arians of the Fourth Century* (1833), which has become a classic in this field In this period Newman became particularly attracted to the Alexandrian theological tradition and, as he puts it, "some portions of their teaching came like music to my inward ear, as if the response to ideas, which, with little external to encourage them, I had cherished so long These were based on the mystical or sacramental principle, and spoke of the various Economies or Dispensations of the Eternal I understood these passages to mean that the exterior world, physical and historical, was but the manifestation to our senses of realities greater than itself Nature was a parable In the fulness of time the outward framework, which concealed yet suggested the Living Truth, had never been intended to last, and it was dissolving under the beams of the Sun of Justice, which shone behind it and through it The visible world still remains without its divine interpretation, Holy Church in her sacraments and her hierarchical appointments, will remain, even to the end of the world after all but a symbol of those heavenly facts which fill eternity Her mysteries are but expressions in human language of truths to which the human mind is unequal" (*ibid* pp 36-37) On the influence of the Alexandrian School on Newman's theology and especially educational ideas I would refer to Vincent F Blehl's essay, "Newman, the Fathers and education," *Thought*, 45 (1970), in which it is established that "Newman's criticism of contemporary movements of thought and of education show him to be a nineteenth century disciple of the Alexandrian Fathers of the Church " The decisive era in Newman's patristic formation was probably the Tractarian period Newman acknowledged that he had a supreme confidence in the course of that movement, because they were "upholding that primitive Christianity which was delivered for all time by the early teachers of the Church, and which was registered and attested in the Anglican Formularies and by the Anglican Divines" (*Apologia*, p 50) For the Tractarian Newman the theological norms were three, the Bible, the Fathers and the Anglican divines The emphasis was on the middle norm, because the Fathers were the authoritative interpreters of the Bible and the basic source of the Anglican divines in their attempt to shape Anglicanism (*ibid* p 55) After the *Arians* Newman showed his patristic erudition and stance in his most famous Anglican book *The Via Media of the Anglican Church Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church* vol 1 (1837) This book was an attempt to offer suggestions "towards the formation of a recognized Anglican theology on the basis of the Anglican Divines, who were fully imbued with Ancient Truth and were well versed in the writings of the Fathers and had explored primitive Doctrine bringing to light the original principles of the Gospel and the Church" (*ibid* p 69) Newman "became persuaded in his own mind, that there could be no rashness in giving to the world in fullest measure the teaching and the writings of the Fathers He thought that the Church of England was substantially founded on them and that the Fathers could never lead one to Rome" (*ibid* p 60) In 1838 Newman produced yet another patristic work, *The Church of the Fathers* which appeared in numbers in the *British Magazine* and which was later published with the subtitle, *quae est ista, quae progreditur quasi aurora consurgens terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata* Then followed Newman's translation from the French of Fleury's *Church History* (1842-44), which I regard extremely important for Newman's patristic development Fleury, a Roman Catholic historian, convinced him of the primary significance of the fourth century Fathers, not because of his hagiographical style, but because he presented nakedly and straight-forwardly the facts In the advertisement which Newman

wrote by way of preface, he draws attention to this fact and states how superior this history is over those of Mosheim, Milner, Gibbon, Neander, Millman, and Döllinger (vol. 1. p. vi). In the *Apologia* Newman tells us that "that simple presentation of the early centuries had a good deal to do with unsettling me in my Anglicanism" (p. 75). It was at that time that Newman came to be associated decisively and crucially with the theology and vision of the Great Athanasios as he commenced his translation and annotation of the latter's famous treatises *Orationes Contra Arianos*. It was his long and careful study of this work that led Newman into the patristic understanding of catholicity which he contrasted at the time with the Tridentine dogmas and what he called "the popular corruptions authoritatively sanctioned in the Roman Church." The catholic teaching of the Early Fathers, he argued, was different from the "formal Dogmas of Trent and later councils" and especially from "popular beliefs endorsed by Rome" (*Apologia*, pp. 79, 81). At the same time Newman contrasted the catholic teaching of the Fathers to liberalism, puritanism and rationalism (ibid. p. 98). Thus he moved to an Anglican patristic position, which he regarded objective proceeding in the middle between papal and evangelical subjectivisms (ibid. pp. 106, 107).

The Anglican patristic argument of the *Via Media* was basically an argument from antiquity (ibid. p. 107) against modernism, Roman or Protestant. In the long vacation of 1839 Newman preoccupied himself with the study of Monophysitism and it was during this pursuit that "a dramatic change took place". "It was during this course of reading that a doubt came upon him of the tenableness of Anglicanism" (ibid. p. 108). He felt that in his Anglican *Via Media* he was "turning devil's advocate against the much enduring Athanasius and the majestic Leo" (ibid. p. 109). Augustine's attitude to the Donatists and his palmary words *securus judicat orbis terrarum* pushed him further away from the *Via Media*, which now appeared as a mere abstract theoretical construction. As he puts it himself, "down had come the *Via Media* as a definite theory or scheme, under the blows of St. Leo" (ibid. p. 112). Yet, he still could not reconcile the difference between dominion and affection in Rome. But the fact was that Newman stopped challenging Rome on the basis of the Fathers and started to do this with reference to the Anglican Church. Could he demonstrate that the Anglican Church was a continuation of the Church of which in old times Athanasios and Augustine were members? That, he thought could be shown, if the respective doctrines were the same, i.e., if the 39 Articles were patristic. This, he says in the *Apologia*, became for him "a matter of life and death" (p. 122). It became for him an *experimentum crucis* (p. 122). Though he deliberately set himself the task to preach the identity of the Anglican Church with that of the Fathers, he slowly but steadily came to realize the acute problem of Anglicanism, the divorce between theory and practice (ibid. p. 136). The affair of the Anglican Jerusalem bishopric brought this home to him in an acute way (cf. his protest, *Apologia*, p. 135).

So Newman began reaching new positions. The tests of catholicity, loyalty to antiquity and her oracle of the truth and apostolic succession as sufficient guarantees of sacramental grace could not be used against Rome. Rome was closer to these tests than Canterbury. As he puts it, in a letter addressed to Mr. Church on 24 December 1841, "this only I see, that there was indefinitely more in the Fathers against their own state of alienation from Christendom than against the Tridentine Decrees" (p. 146). Theoretically he was committed to Antiquity together with the Anglican Church (ibid. p. 155), yet he realized that there was a great "difference between a conclusion in the abstract and a conclusion in the concrete" (ibid. p. 155). These considerations were crowned with the superb spiritual dictum of St. Ambrose, *non in dialectica complacuit Deo saluum facere populum suum*, which fell on him with full force. It was after this that Newman came to distrust rationalization in theology and rely more and more on spiritual insight and vision. His statements in the *Apologia* are very eloquent. "I had a great dislike of paper logic. For myself, it was not logic that carried me on . . . It is the concrete being that reasons pass a number of years, and I find my mind in a new place; how? the whole man moves; paper logic is but the record of it. All the logic in the world would not have made me move faster towards Rome than I did" (ibid. pp. 155-56). As a result of this concrete realization of catholicity in the Fathers, Newman could now argue that the Anglican had a duty to seek union with Rome, because of her concrete patristic faith and practice, which should be regarded as infallible (ibid. p. 175). In a very interesting instance in his *Apologia* Newman makes the following profound statement, "You (Rome) do not fear us, we fear you. Till we cease to fear you we cannot love you". It is obvious that at this stage

Newman, the patristic Anglican, was acquiring a greater and greater sympathy for Rome. He even contemplated Church Union "because he understood that individual conversions do not really help resolve the problems" (ibid p 176). Newman believed that in spite of novelties the teaching of the church of Rome was interrelated with the teaching of the early Church, Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople and he sought to explain this on the basis of the principle of organic development (ibid p 180). He saw this as a mathematical curve which had its own law and expression (ibid p 179). It was on this basis that he came to formulate a dramatic *either or*. There was nothing left for him but the ultimate dilemma between catholicity or atheism (ibid p 180).¹ Anglicanism and Liberalism stood between the two ultimate options of catholicity and atheism and as such were extremely ambiguous because they could lead either way. Catholicity was characterized by religious certitude which was concretely expressed and confessed by the Catholic dogmas. The weakness of Anglicanism consisted in its inability to achieve such catholic certitude, as Newman put it in a phrase which has become gnomic, "it was not at all easy (humanly speaking) to wind up an Englishman to a dogmatic level".² This meant that Anglicanism was ultimately suspect and could be regarded as being no more than a "paper system" (ibid p 186). Charles Kingsley has epitomized the conclusion, "The writings of the Fathers so far from prejudicing at least one man against the modern Catholic Church, have been simply and solely the one intellectual cause of his having renounced the religion in which he was born and submitted himself to her" (ibid p 367). For the connection between the Newman and the Fathers three more bibliographical items should be mentioned here, the early work of Denys Gorce, *Newman et les Peres*, 2nd ed (Bruges, 1947), Elias Mastroyannopoulos' essay "How Newman sees the Fathers" in his book *The Fathers of the Church and Man* (Athens, 1966) (in Greek), and finally T M Parker's essay "The rediscovery of the Fathers in the seventeenth-century Anglican Tradition", being pp 31-49 of *The Rediscovery of Newman*, An Oxford Symposium, ed John Coulson and A M Allchin (London, 1967).

4 See here his long and very interesting *Preface* to the volume on *The Catechetical Lectures of St Cyril of Jerusalem* in the "Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church" published in Oxford in 1845. Here Newman discusses the relation of the teaching of the Holy Scriptures to the catholic dogma of the Fathers.

5 Ibid p xv "the real subject in dispute is this, *how* the one true sense of Scripture is to be learned, whether by philological criticism upon definite texts, or by a promised superintendence of the Holy Ghost teaching the mind the true doctrines from Scripture, (whether by a general impression upon the mind, or by leading it, text by text piecemeal into doctrine by doctrine,) — or, on the other hand, by a blessing of the Spirit upon studying it in the right way, that is, in the way actually provided, in other words, according to the Church's interpretations."

6 Cf C S Dessau, "Cardinal Newman and the Eastern Tradition," in *Downside Review*, 94 (1976), p 85.

7 In *Letters and Diaries* as quoted in ibid , p 86.

8 Ibid.

9 Cf the perceptive observations of Christopher Dawson, "Newman and the Modern World", in *Newman and Littlemore* (Oxford, 1945), J M Cameron's essay, "Newman and the Empiricist tradition", in *The Rediscovery of Newman*, ed by John Coulson and A M Allchin (London, 1967), Christopher Hollis, *Newman and The Modern World* (London, 1967).

10 See my essay "Conscience and Tradition, Newman and Athanasios in the Orthodox Church" in the forthcoming *Newman Studien*.

11 Cf what he says about 'heresies' and 'heretics' in his *Select Treatises of St Athanasius* (London, 1881) 2, pp 143ff.

12 Quoted from W Ward's *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman* (London, 1912), 2, pp 460-62.

13 Cf especially ch iv, "History of my religious opinions from 1841 to 1845" in his *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, pp 137ff.

13. I am of the opinion that when Newman speaks of "Protestants," "Protestantism," or "Luther" he means the *liberal* Protestantism or liberal Lutheranism of his time. His fierce criticism of Protestantism and Lutheranism is not directed against the historical Reformation and its evangelical principles, but against the nineteenth century Protestant liberal movement (including the *Neuluthertum*) which put into question the evangelical basis of the historical Reformation and which was coming into England through the channels of *Pietism* and *Modernism*. Newman never abandoned the proper Evangelical emphasis of Protestantism which he inherited from his Reformed mother and early upbringing. So, even in his explicit anti-Protestant statements, Newman remains evangelically catholic. I realize that this subject requires careful investigation and assessment, but I think that my main thesis is correct whatever minor modifications one might wish to make in the light of the details of Newman's writings and history.

14. Prof. Owen Chadwick puts it accurately: "The Tractarians stood for faithfulness to the ancient undivided Church—*undivided* was an important adjective. They were not slow to see that the ancient Church believed that there ought to be one visible, organized, undivided body. Loyalty to the ancient Catholic Church therefore included a quest for Christian reunion, visible union. Further, they lifted the eyes of their people to the long history of Christianity", in *Anglican Initiatives in Christian Unity*, lectures delivered in Lambeth Palace Library 1966 (London, 1967), p. 76. For the Anglican quest for catholicity see George A. Tavard. *The Quest for Catholicity, A study in Anglicanism*.

15. Cf. here F.L. Cross's Investigation, "Why did Newman become a Roman Catholic?" , pp. 130-144 of his book, *John Henry Newman* (London, 1932).

16. In his *Apologia* Newman speaks of the *experimentum crucis* (p. 122). Chapter iv of the *Apologia* witnesses to a progressive anxiety which reaches its highest intensity as the day of Newman's reception into the Roman Catholic Church approaches.

17. Cf. *The Rediscovery of Newman*, An Oxford Symposium, ed. by John Coulson and A. M. Allchin (London, 1967). Especially important in this case are part iii, "The development of Newman's influence" and part iv, "Newman and the Second Vatican Council".

18. Cf. *Apologia*, p. 155. Newman used this text as his motto on the front page of his most important work, *An Essay in Aid of A Grammar of Assent* (1870).

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REVIEWS

Illustrated Manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai. Kurt Weitzmann. Collegeville, Minnesota. St. John's University Press for the Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library and the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, 1973. Pp.34; 32 plates; 46 figs. \$2.00. Paper.

Any work, no matter how brief, by the eminent Byzantine art historian Kurt Weitzmann of Princeton University is bound to command attention, particularly when it deals with St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai, which "still preserves a great wealth of historical and artistic monuments which give it a unique importance in the history of Byzantine civilization" (p.5). The contents of the present richly illustrated publication represent a lecture delivered at St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota, on 31 October 1972. Because of its original nature it should not be lost in the mass of Byzantine bibliography but should be duly noted and brought to the attention of all Byzantinists who are well aware of the importance of St. Catherine's Monastery, originally dedicated to the Holy Virgin, where it was erected between 548 and 565 in the rocky desert at a height of 5000 feet at the southern tip of the Sinai Peninsula. Since its foundation, St. Catherine's has been "one of the great centers of pilgrimage of the Christian world, equal in importance to those of the Holy Land, and its vicissitudes are clearly reflected in the riches of its library" (p. 34).

It is, of course, the library which provides the primary focus of this brief treatise because the Sinai monastery possesses the earliest known masterpieces of iconography (going back to the sixth century), and with its more than three thousand manuscripts it contains the largest collection of any Greek monastery in modern times. Noteworthy, too, is the apse of the church, which houses the most magnificent early Christian mosaic representing the Metamorphosis (going back to the foundation date of the Church). The library collection has a polyglot character as evidenced by its more than two thousand Greek, several hundred Arabic (almost exclusively Christian and primarily liturgical and patristic texts), about three hundred Syriac, one hundred Georgian, forty Slavic, and one Latin manuscripts, reflecting residence and worship by the Syrian, Arabic, Georgian, Latin, Slavic, and Greek monks—all adherents of Chalcedonian Orthodoxy.

The Age of Constantine and Julian. By Diana Bowder. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1978. Pp. xiii + 230. 1 map + 51 plates. \$30.00.

Julian the Apostate. By G.W. Bowersock. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1978. Pp. xii + 135. Frontispiece + 9 plates. \$12.50.

Of late there seems to have been an abundance of books on Julian the Apostate and even on Constantine the Great, two Roman figures clearly important for the development of the early Christian Church and highly instrumental for the direction that Christianity would take. Recent books have been careful to review both Constantine and Julian more critically without the imposition of an intervening Christian bias. Diana Bowder's book, the longer and the less interesting and less articulate of the two books reviewed here, rightly views the fourth century as a momentous period during which the struggle between Christianity and paganism was finally resolved. The conversion of Constantine to Christianity and the failure of Julian to reestablish paganism as the official state religion mark for her the watershed between the old pagan Roman Empire and the new Orthodox Christian Byzantine Empire.

It is presumably through her study of the art and architecture of the period that Diana Bowder intended to make her distinct contribution by showing the action and interaction of the two religions in imperial policy at all levels of society by surveying the numerous surviving monuments, public and private, pagan and Christian, from the point of view of the light they cast upon the religious and social life of the population but, in fact, this is only partly accomplished since much time is spent going over familiar ground in rather familiar ways. The six basic chapters of the book deal with "The Beginning of the Late Empire: Diocletian and the Tetrarchy"; "The Constantinian Period: Imperial History and the Official Monuments"; "The Churches of Constantine and Helena"; "The Emperors, the Church and the Pagan Establishment"; "The Pagan Revival of Julian the Apostate"; and "Christian and Pagan Life and Art."

Dr. Bowder sees in Constantine a tough, almost ruthless but realistic general and sincere ruler for whom "The monogram of Christ was thus invested from its very origin . . . with a powerful charge of imperial victory-mystique, and the sign of the Redeemer, the spiritual Saviour, came to have connotations of salvation on a more terrestrial plane, of the Empire, of the emperor with whom the safety of the Empire was intimately bound up, and of the soldiers who fought under its protection" (p. 23). Constantine's victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge (312) was to have momentous consequences for Christendom. With the 'Edict of Milan' (313) Christians were never again to be subjected to systematic and general persecution in the Roman Empire. As a reformer, Constantine created a highly mobile central army reserve and the new posts of *magister peditum* (master of infantry) and *magister equitum* (master of cavalry), which were directly responsible to the emperor and were the highest ranking officers in the army. Separation of military and civil power was completed. Other reforms included the consulship, coinage, social policies that were more benevolent to the poor and defenseless. He also reinforced the principle of compulsory heredity and fought against judicial corruption.

Diana Bowder sees Julian as "the last pagan emperor of Rome, architect

of an important pagan revival, that he is most justly famed" (p. 54) but also one in whom "a certain emotional streak in Julian's character made him hunger for sensational religious experiences, despite his love of the true Greek intellectual philosophy" (p. 98). Julian noted that much of the success of Christianity was due to the compact, hierarchic structure of the Church which gave it a distinct advantage over the amorphous organization or lack of organization of the pagan cults. Julian vainly tried to exalt and purify the pagan priest's life, make the high priest of each province engage in large-scale, Christian-like charity, and remove classical education from the hands of Christians. In all of this he ultimately failed, though absolutely convinced of the rightness of his cause and position but "the Roman world was effectively Christian, a process hastened in the West by the trauma of the great invasions and the collapse of Roman rule. The signs of triumph were already there in the flourishing Christianity of the Constantinian period" (p. 193).

Glen Bowersock's little book on Julian, inspired by a seminar on Julian conducted at Harvard in 1976, provides a sharp-sighted personal picture of the Roman emperor who began as a Christian and ended up calling Christianity "atheism." Through a close examination and prudent use of primary sources, Bowersock reconstructs for us the best and most accurate picture of the Apostate now available. It is a fair picture that credits Julian with cleaning out the bureaucracy, restoring the senate of Constantinople, strengthening the councils of the Greek cities, restoring city properties, reforming the imperial courier system and the tax collection process, and engaging vigorously in philosophy. But ultimately this strange pagan cloaked as a Christian, this young general who achieved such striking military success in the West, characterized by cunning, candor, self-righteousness, and ostentatious fairness, was to be revealed as an experienced dissembler, a man of powerful religiosity, puritanical asceticism, and political acumen, who was determined to wipe out the stain of the "godless" (i.e. the Christians). As Bowersock so succinctly puts it, "He never contemplated any other solution to the religious problem than total elimination. His view of Christians was utterly intolerant from the start" (p. 85). But Julian's fanaticism, though genuine and determined, was overcome by his ambition that unwisely led him back to battle with the Persians in Persia where he was killed on 26 June 363 near Ctesiphon by a spear that one Christian commentator has called "the lance of paradise, the lance of justice." Julian's successor was the Christian Jovian. "The whole transformation which Julian had set in motion stopped abruptly with his death. He tried to reshape the world according to his personal vision, and that vision vanished with him" (p. 118).

In times when institutional Christianity has been much weakened and subjected to never-ending criticism for what it is not doing and should be doing, it is well to review that part of the fourth century of the Christian era in which Christianity met its challengers and emerged all the stronger. Bowder

and Bowerstock, in two different ways, provide us with the opportunity to review the aims and achievements of two determined Roman emperors, who, with Constantinople as their capital city, had different visions of a universal Roman empire—one Christian, one pagan—but actually confirmed, through their actions, the emergence and viability of an Orthodox Christian Byzantine Empire.

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Byzantium and the Papacy 1198-1400. By Joseph Gill, S.J. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1979. Pp. xii + 342. \$23.50.

This scholarly tome should be of interest to students of medieval history of both the Greek East and the Latin West, to Church historians and theologians, as well as to anyone interested in religious studies and ecumenical relations. In twelve compact chapters the well known author of *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959) and *Personalities of the Council of Florence* (Oxford, 1964), examines the outstanding events of more than two centuries as they affected the contacts of the two Churches. Though he writes as an historian, Father Gill analyzes important theological issues with clarity and conviction. His work is a balanced and scholarly treatment of a complex and difficult historical period. As one would have expected, the negotiations about the union of the two Churches are examined in the context of political events, of the social and cultural background of the two worlds of medieval Christendom.

The 'Great Schism' of 1054 between Western and Eastern Christendom, and the disastrous Fourth Crusade, which made that schism real, did not prevent the two worlds of Christendom from seeking ecclesiastical union. Father Gill demonstrates that both the Greek and Latin Churches seriously desired the union. But then what was the main reason for the failure of each unionist effort? "The root reason was the ecclesiology of the medieval Latin Church," he writes. As far as the Latin Church was concerned "there could be only one church with one faith and one supreme authority. That faith was the bond of unity of the whole Christian community and the one authority was that of the keeper of the faith, the pope." Thus the Greeks who did not accept that ecclesiology "were called 'schismatics' and 'heretics' . . . they were not of the one Church outside of which there is no salvation" (p. 245).

On the other hand "the Greek opposition to union in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was not a sudden upsurge of anti-Latin sentiment. It was the consequence, heightened by political circumstances of divergent outlook and development that dated from the earliest centuries of the Church's life" (p. 250). These are important acknowledgments coming from the pen

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Glory of God is Jesus) which contains the teachings of the movement's leader. The *Onomatolatrai* thought that they were not innovators and that their teachings had their roots in the patristic tradition, Hesychasm in particular.

This authoritative and well written book should be of interest to historians, theologians, and others interested in Russian religious thought.

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God in Contemporary Thought: A Philosophical Perspective. Edited by Sebastian A. Matczak. New York, Learned Publications, Inc., 1977. Pp. 1119.

This cumulative volume represents the tenth number of the "Philosophical Questions Series" of which the editor-in-chief is Dr. Sebastian A. Matczak, Professor of Philosophy at St. John's University in New York. It is a precious collection of scholarly papers which concentrate on the existence of God, His nature and the way we know him.

The book is divided into four parts. Part One is devoted to the views on God of the followers of the ancient cultures (Africa, China, India, Islam, Japan, Judaism). The second part presents the Christian teaching and the views of the main branches of Christianity (Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Protestantism) including the pre-Christian concept of God (Plato and Aristotle). Part Three surveys the opinions concerning God of several modern thinkers, mainly philosophers, like Hume, Whitehead, Tillich, Marcel, Heidegger, Sartre. This section also includes essays on God in modern literature, psychology and the arts. The last part deals with specific problems such as causality and suffering. Each essay is concluded by a useful list of basic bibliography on the subject. An index of names mentioned in the text concludes this extremely interesting volume.

God in Contemporary Thought broadens and deepens the human knowledge and experience of God. It is a valuable and convenient source of scholarly information which deserves the careful attention of all theologians, philosophers and students of the ecumenical movement.

Constantine N. Tsirpanlis
U.T.S.

ΚΟΣΜΑΣ Ο ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ: Ο ΟΡΘΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΤΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΜΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΛΕΥΤΕΡΙΑΣ. By Konstantinos G. Makrykostas. Introduction by Metropolitan Georgios of Nikaia. Athens: Tenos Publication, 1979. Pp. 112. Illustrated. Paper. 80 drachmas.

ΚΟΣΜΑΣ Ο ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ (1714-1779) ΣΥΝΑΞΑΡΙΟΝ, ΔΙΔΑΧΑΙ-ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΙΑ-ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΙΑ. By Bishop Augoustinos N. Kantiotes, Metropolitan

of Florina. 5th revised edition. Athens: Orthodox Missionary Society of the Cross, 1977. Illustrated. Pp. 426. 300 drachmas.

ΚΟΣΜΑΣ Ο ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ 1714-1779, ΒΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ, ΔΙΔΑΧΑΙ, ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ, ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΙΑΙ, ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ, ΕΝΘΥΜΗΣΕΙΣ, ΕΞΕΙΚΟΝΙΣΕΙΣ, ΑΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΙΑ. By Theophilos N. Simopoulos. 2nd edition. Athens: n.p., 1979. Pp. 342. Paper.

ΚΟΣΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΤΟΛΟΥ. ΔΙΔΑΧΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ, ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΜΕΛΕΤΗ, ΚΕΙΜΕΝΑ. By Ioannes Menounos. Athens: Tenos, [1979]. Pp. 319. Paper. 300 drachmas.

1979 marked the two-hundredth anniversary of the martyred death of the hieromonk Kosmas Aitolos, one of the most popular saints in Greece today. As this anniversary approached, scores of studies appeared dealing with Kosmas. The four books reviewed here are representative of these publications ranging from popular to scholarly.

The first book, written by Makrykostas, a medical doctor, is a good example of popular writing about Kosmas. Its subtitle, "The Dawn of the Good News of Freedom" is indicative of its theme.

The book is well written with a great deal of literary charm. However, together with some historical data, it includes material and incidents in the life of Kosmas that cannot be substantiated historically but which, nevertheless, have found their way in this and more ambitious studies concerning Kosmas.

According to Makrykostas, Kosmas is alleged to have been initiated into a kind of secret society while a student in the theological academy on Mt. Athos, whose purpose was to fulfill the Great Idea (*Megale Idea*). Questionable, too, is the author's contention that the so-called Kollyvades controversy caused the closing of the theological academy on Mount Athos and that Kosmas, discouraged by the controversy became a monk. Moreover, the author completely misunderstands the nature of the Kollyvades controversy.

It is true that Kosmas urged his non-Greek speaking listeners to learn and to speak Greek, but he did this because the only available schools at that time were Greek, and the language of the Church was Greek. And since he believed strongly that education was one of the major means to resist the proselytizing efforts of the Muslims, he wanted his listeners to be equipped with the language that made their education possible. Hence, the words put by the author into the mouth of Kosmas, "Speak the language of your fathers...because in that language were written the famous works which glorified Greece and the Greeks. With this language Alexander the Great spread Greek civilization among the barbarian peoples in all parts of the world,..." are not only absent from Kosmas' *Didachai*, and are imaginary, but do not reflect historical reality. Equally far from the truth is the contention that "in the thought of Father Kosmas, Hellenism and Christianity were two inseparable concepts."

Kosmas only served one Lord, Jesus Christ, and him he served through teaching the Gospel and service to his fellow human beings.

Equally mythical is the notion that Kosmas urged Christians to dismantle unused churches and that he personally climbed up one such church (after his listeners, astounded by his orders to tear down the church, remained immobile) and began to dismantle it himself. Kosmas may have urged the use of the church resources for the founding and support of schools, but he wanted more schools because they would produce more monks and Christian preachers and teachers.

Here as in much popular writing concerning Kosmas there is an attempt to portray Kosmas as a preacher of nineteenth-century Greek nationalism when in reality he was an itinerant preacher, a selfless monk, who brought Christ's message of hope to a people neglected and abused by those with power, privilege, and wealth in order to bolster their faith and help protect them from Islam.

Metropolitan Augoustinos, the author of the second book, has done more to popularize the life and teaching of Kosmas Aitolos than any writer in Greece today. His study, first published in 1950, has gone through five editions, 1959, 1966, 1971. Each successive edition has been augmented. The first four numbered some 60,000 copies and were completely sold out.

The present fifth edition includes, in addition to the eight *Didachai*, Father Kosmas' extant letters, his six 'Paradigms,' and the 122 'Prophecies' attributed to him, the following: the life and the *akolouthia* of St. Kosmas, written by his disciple Sappheirios Christodoulides, the letter of Patriarch Athenagoras and the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate of Constantinople officially proclaiming Kosmas a saint of the Orthodox Church, the introduction to the first and fifth editions, a brief biography of Kosmas by the author, a study of Kosmas as missionary, and another entitled "Albania and Kosmas Aitolos." Finally, there is a glossary of terms, four maps, and some fifty-nine drawings and photographs in both black and white and color.

For Bishop Augoustinos, Kosmas was above all a prophetic preacher, in fact "a great prophet, the greatest in Orthodoxy," who encountered opposition from various quarters: Turks and Jews, from some ordinary people suffering from ignorance and illiteracy, from the great property holders, from bishops, and even from monks. The latter he attributes to the monks' lack of appreciation of the value of missionary work which has been demonstrated by the fact that although churches have been built in honor of St. Kosmas in many places in Greece, no church or chapel has been dedicated to him on Mount Athos where Kosmas spent some seventeen years.

One of the merits of Kantiotes' book lies in the fact that he rightly emphasized Kosmas' true religious character and mission, even though he, too, falls into the common temptation of believing that Kosmas "loved Orthodoxy. And together with Orthodoxy he loved Greece which was closely and indissolubly bound with her. Greece was the first of the faithful daughters of Or-

thodoxy. Orthodoxy and Greece were united in the Saint's heart." These are later ideas which are anachronistically attributed to Kosmas who spoke only in terms of Orthodoxy, of an Orthodox Church and people. By contributing to the preservation of Orthodoxy in what is present day Greece and Albania, Kosmas contributed to preserving people who would in the next century declare themselves as Orthodox as well as Greeks and Albanians. (See my study "The Price of Faith..." *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 23 (1978), 185-215.) On the other hand, Bishop Auguoustinos is very correct when he states that in much of the writing concerning Kosmas Aitolos he is presented in a distorted fashion.

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His study is divided into two major points: A) "Philosophical Study of the *Didachai*" (pp. 17-105), and B) "The Texts" (113-302). To these must be added a very select bibliography, a listing of the Patriarchs of Constantinople during the time of Kosmas, an English summary, a glossary, three illustrations, and an index.

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Another problem associated with the life of Kosmas is the length of his stay on Mount Athos. Kosmas himself states that he remained on the Holy Mountain "for seventeen years." He arrived at Mount Athos in order to study at the Theological Academy, founded there in 1749, soon after it opened its doors. His arrival therefore can be dated about 1750. He received official permission to preach from Patriarch Serapheim II shortly before the latter's tenure ended on 25 March 1761. We also know that he remained in Constantinople some time before seeing the Patriarch. Hence we can assign only about ten years to Kosmas' stay on Mount Athos. The additional seven years remain a mystery unless Kosmas has reference to return trips to Athos about which we can know next to nothing.

Menounos rightly emphasized that Kosmas left Mount Athos not because he found monastic life unrewarding or in decline as some writers have contended, but because of his zeal to engage in missionary activity among the Orthodox faithful. It is not certain whether Kosmas undertook three or four missionary journeys; the author merely states the problem. Neither do we have reliable data, with only a few exceptions, as to where and when Kosmas preached his sermons. Menounos, however, correctly concludes from the available evidence that Kosmas concentrated the major part of his efforts in Epiros, Greece, and Southern Albania where the danger of apostasy to Islam was the greatest.

With regard to the texts themselves, Menounos concurs with many before him that the traditional texts that have been printed up to now have had their language corrected by various copiests, editors, and publishers who did not hesitate to embellish them as well. Nonetheless, Menounos concludes that no serious distortions have taken place as far as Kosmas' teachings are concerned.

In his search for manuscripts containing Father Kosmas' *didachai*, none of which were probably recorded by Kosmas personally but some may have circulated during his life time, Menounos found eight containing one to five *didachai*. In addition, there are sixteen 'editions' based on lost manuscripts which contain one to eight sermons. These are all examined by the author who concludes that there are basically five "representative" *didachai*. These are the texts published in the second part of his study. What the author did not set out to do, according to his own admission, was to produce a critical edition of Kosmas' sermons, but this is a task that should be completed by someone with access to the manuscripts.

In the extant sources, Menounos discerns twenty-six 'basic texts' many of which differ slightly from one another because Kosmas used a number of general outlines when he preached, occasionally adding new material when circumstances required it.

Of the twenty-six texts, Menounos found eight to be suspect and untrustworthy due to the nature of their content and language. Of the remaining eighteen, he published seven as representative. Of the latter (numbered A1, A2, B1, B2, C, D, and E by him) five (A1, B2, C, D, E) are published for the first time. When these are compared with the 'traditional' eight *didachai*, which have been repeatedly published by many authors, we get the following picture. A1, and A2 correspond to the First *Didache*; B1 to the Seventh; B2 to the Fifth; C to the Fourth; D to the Second; and E to the Third. Only the traditional 'Sixth *Didache*' does not seem to have a counterpart.

Moreover, Menounos has discerned that twelve of the twenty-six basic texts pertain to the same subject, "From Creation to the Expulsion from Paradise." These are considered variants of the "First *Didache*." Four other texts deal with the second subject, "From the Birth of the Theotokos to Holy Thursday." These constitute variants of the "Second *Didache*." Three texts take up the third and last topic, "From Holy Thursday to the Second Coming," and are variants of the "Third *Didache*." Seven texts contain the parable of the sower. These make up the "Fourth *Didache*," while the remaining four appear to have no unified topic but contain a series of counsels and examples and are related to some degree to the "Fifth *Didache*."

According to Menounos, Kosmas usually preached at night on the day he arrived in a village. He began with the story of creation, followed by the fall, the expulsion from Paradise, and the subsequent punishment of Adam and Eve. On the next morning, Kosmas continued with the birth and the life of the Theotokos, the birth, life, and betrayal of Jesus, and the story of

Judas. He completed the cycle of his sermons at night on the same day by speaking of the death and resurrection of Christ, the work of the Apostles, the spread of Christianity, and the second coming of Christ which would be followed by the final judgment.

In conclusion, we can say that Menounos' research has presented us with: 1) texts that authentically represent Kosmas' sermons both in language and spirit; 2) the basic outline found in Kosmas' sermons which was not previously noted; and 3) the most representative and authentic of Kosmas' extant sermons.

Dr. Menounos has with his study performed a great service to all students of the remarkable Aitolian monk.

N.M. Vaporis
Hellenic College

BOOK NOTES

ΑΝΘΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΠΗΓΩΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ Α΄ - ΙΑ΄ ΑΙΩΝΑ.
Volume 1. Part 1. Compiled by Ioannes Anastasiou. Thessalonike: n.p., 1979.
Pp. 662. Paper.

Professor Ioannes Anastasiou has compiled a very impressive collection of sources dating from the first to the eleventh century in the field of church history, the first such collection made by a Greek church historian.

The anthology is divided into seventeen sections: 1) Non-Christian References to Christ (pp. 5-13), 2) Apostles-Apostolic Co-Workers (17-48), 3) Canons of the Holy Scriptures (53-79), 4) Baptism-Chrisation (63-76), 5) Creeds of the Faith (79-86), 6) Eucharist (89-129), 7) Repentance and Confession (133-42), 8) Fasts (145-59), 9) Feast Days-Worship (163-213), 10) Clergymen (217-62), 11) Church Order (265-72), 12) Church Administration (275-87), 12) Monastic Life (291-370), 14) Heresies-Heretics (373-455), 15) Moral Life of Christians (459-538), 16) Spread of Christianity (541-67), 17) Church and Education (571-606) and a table of contents (609-22).

The selections in each section are arranged in chronological order and are presented with a simple identification only. Professor Anastasiou has restricted himself to the inclusion of sources in Greek, Latin and other sources not having been translated into Greek. Two major topics; Church and State, and Ecumenical and other Synods are to be included in a forthcoming volume as well as the sources from the eleventh century onwards.

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Glory of God is Jesus) which contains the teachings of the movement's leader. The *Onomatolatrai* thought that they were not innovators and that their teachings had their roots in the patristic tradition, Hesychasm in particular.

This authoritative and well written book should be of interest to historians, theologians, and others interested in Russian religious thought.

Demetrios J. Constantelos
Stockton State College

God in Contemporary Thought: A Philosophical Perspective. Edited by Sebastian A. Matczak. New York, Learned Publications, Inc., 1977. Pp. 1119.

This cumulative volume represents the tenth number of the "Philosophical Questions Series" of which the editor-in-chief is Dr. Sebastian A. Matczak, Professor of Philosophy at St. John's University in New York. It is a precious collection of scholarly papers which concentrate on the existence of God, His nature and the way we know him.

The book is divided into four parts. Part One is devoted to the views on God of the followers of the ancient cultures (Africa, China, India, Islam, Japan, Judaism). The second part presents the Christian teaching and the views of the main branches of Christianity (Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Protestantism) including the pre-Christian concept of God (Plato and Aristotle). Part Three surveys the opinions concerning God of several modern thinkers, mainly philosophers, like Hume, Whitehead, Tillich, Marcel, Heidegger, Sartre. This section also includes essays on God in modern literature, psychology and the arts. The last part deals with specific problems such as causality and suffering. Each essay is concluded by a useful list of basic bibliography on the subject. An index of names mentioned in the text concludes this extremely interesting volume.

God in Contemporary Thought broadens and deepens the human knowledge and experience of God. It is a valuable and convenient source of scholarly information which deserves the careful attention of all theologians, philosophers and students of the ecumenical movement.

Constantine N. Tsirpanlis
U.T.S.

ΚΟΣΜΑΣ Ο ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ: Ο ΟΡΘΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΤΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΜΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΛΕΥΤΕΡΙΑΣ. By Konstantinos G. Makrykostas. Introduction by Metropolitan Georgios of Nikaia. Athens: Tenos Publication, 1979. Pp. 112. Illustrated. Paper. 80 drachmas.

ΚΟΣΜΑΣ Ο ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ (1714-1779) ΣΥΝΑΞΑΡΙΟΝ, ΔΙΔΑΧΑΙ-ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΙΑ-ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΙΑ. By Bishop Augoustinos N. Kantiotes, Metropolitan

of Florina. 5th revised edition. Athens: Orthodox Missionary Society of the Cross, 1977. Illustrated. Pp. 426. 300 drachmas.

ΚΟΣΜΑΣ Ο ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ 1714-1779, ΒΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ, ΔΙΔΑΧΑΙ, ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ, ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΙΑΙ, ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ, ΕΝΘΥΜΗΣΕΙΣ, ΕΞΕΙΚΟΝΙΣΕΙΣ, ΑΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΙΑ. By Theophilos N. Simopoulos. 2nd edition. Athens: n.p., 1979. Pp. 342. Paper.

ΚΟΣΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΤΟΛΟΥ. ΔΙΔΑΧΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ, ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΜΕΛΕΤΗ, ΚΕΙΜΕΝΑ. By Ioannes Menounos. Athens: Tenos, [1979]. Pp. 319. Paper. 300 drachmas.

1979 marked the two-hundredth anniversary of the martyred death of the hieromonk Kosmas Aitolos, one of the most popular saints in Greece today. As this anniversary approached, scores of studies appeared dealing with Kosmas. The four books reviewed here are representative of these publications ranging from popular to scholarly.

The first book, written by Makrykostas, a medical doctor, is a good example of popular writing about Kosmas. Its subtitle, "The Dawn of the Good News of Freedom" is indicative of its theme.

The book is well written with a great deal of literary charm. However, together with some historical data, it includes material and incidents in the life of Kosmas that cannot be substantiated historically but which, nevertheless, have found their way in this and more ambitious studies concerning Kosmas.

According to Makrykostas, Kosmas is alleged to have been initiated into a kind of secret society while a student in the theological academy on Mt. Athos, whose purpose was to fulfill the Great Idea (*Megale Idea*). Questionable, too, is the author's contention that the so-called Kollyvades controversy caused the closing of the theological academy on Mount Athos and that Kosmas, discouraged by the controversy became a monk. Moreover, the author completely misunderstands the nature of the Kollyvades controversy.

It is true that Kosmas urged his non-Greek speaking listeners to learn and to speak Greek, but he did this because the only available schools at that time were Greek, and the language of the Church was Greek. And since he believed strongly that education was one of the major means to resist the proselytizing efforts of the Muslims, he wanted his listeners to be equipped with the language that made their education possible. Hence, the words put by the author into the mouth of Kosmas, "Speak the language of your fathers...because in that language were written the famous works which glorified Greece and the Greeks. With this language Alexander the Great spread Greek civilization among the barbarian peoples in all parts of the world,..." are not only absent from Kosmas' *Didachai*, and are imaginary, but do not reflect historical reality. Equally far from the truth is the contention that "in the thought of Father Kosmas, Hellenism and Christianity were two inseparable concepts."

Kosmas only served one Lord, Jesus Christ, and him he served through teaching the Gospel and service to his fellow human beings.

Equally mythical is the notion that Kosmas urged Christians to dismantle unused churches and that he personally climbed up one such church (after his listeners, astounded by his orders to tear down the church, remained immobile) and began to dismantle it himself. Kosmas may have urged the use of the church resources for the founding and support of schools, but he wanted more schools because they would produce more monks and Christian preachers and teachers.

Here as in much popular writing concerning Kosmas there is an attempt to portray Kosmas as a preacher of nineteenth-century Greek nationalism when in reality he was an itinerant preacher, a selfless monk, who brought Christ's message of hope to a people neglected and abused by those with power, privilege, and wealth in order to bolster their faith and help protect them from Islam.

Metropolitan Augoustinos, the author of the second book, has done more to popularize the life and teaching of Kosmas Aitolos than any writer in Greece today. His study, first published in 1950, has gone through five editions, 1959, 1966, 1971. Each successive edition has been augmented. The first four numbered some 60,000 copies and were completely sold out.

The present fifth edition includes, in addition to the eight *Didachai*, Father Kosmas' extant letters, his six 'Paradigms,' and the 122 'Prophecies' attributed to him, the following: the life and the *akolouthia* of St. Kosmas, written by his disciple Sappheirios Christodoulides, the letter of Patriarch Athenagoras and the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate of Constantinople officially proclaiming Kosmas a saint of the Orthodox Church, the introduction to the first and fifth editions, a brief biography of Kosmas by the author, a study of Kosmas as missionary, and another entitled "Albania and Kosmas Aitolos." Finally, there is a glossary of terms, four maps, and some fifty-nine drawings and photographs in both black and white and color.

For Bishop Augoustinos, Kosmas was above all a prophetic preacher, in fact "a great prophet, the greatest in Orthodoxy," who encountered opposition from various quarters: Turks and Jews, from some ordinary people suffering from ignorance and illiteracy, from the great property holders, from bishops, and even from monks. The latter he attributes to the monks' lack of appreciation of the value of missionary work which has been demonstrated by the fact that although churches have been built in honor of St. Kosmas in many places in Greece, no church or chapel has been dedicated to him on Mount Athos where Kosmas spent some seventeen years.

One of the merits of Kantiotes' book lies in the fact that he rightly emphasized Kosmas' true religious character and mission, even though he, too, falls into the common temptation of believing that Kosmas "loved Orthodoxy. And together with Orthodoxy he loved Greece which was closely and indissolubly bound with her. Greece was the first of the faithful daughters of Or-

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Menounos rightly emphasized that Kosmas left Mount Athos not because he found monastic life unrewarding or in decline as some writers have contended, but because of his zeal to engage in missionary activity among the Orthodox faithful. It is not certain whether Kosmas undertook three or four missionary journeys; the author merely states the problem. Neither do we have reliable data, with only a few exceptions, as to where and when Kosmas preached his sermons. Menounos, however, correctly concludes from the available evidence that Kosmas concentrated the major part of his efforts in Epiros, Greece, and Southern Albania where the danger of apostasy to Islam was the greatest.

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Glory of God is Jesus) which contains the teachings of the movement's leader. The *Onomatolatrai* thought that they were not innovators and that their teachings had their roots in the patristic tradition, Hesychasm in particular.

This authoritative and well written book should be of interest to historians, theologians, and others interested in Russian religious thought.

Demetrios J. Constantelos
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God in Contemporary Thought: A Philosophical Perspective. Edited by Sebastian A. Matczak. New York, Learned Publications, Inc., 1977. Pp. 1119.

This cumulative volume represents the tenth number of the "Philosophical Questions Series" of which the editor-in-chief is Dr. Sebastian A. Matczak, Professor of Philosophy at St. John's University in New York. It is a precious collection of scholarly papers which concentrate on the existence of God, His nature and the way we know him.

The book is divided into four parts. Part One is devoted to the views on God of the followers of the ancient cultures (Africa, China, India, Islam, Japan, Judaism). The second part presents the Christian teaching and the views of the main branches of Christianity (Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Protestantism) including the pre-Christian concept of God (Plato and Aristotle). Part Three surveys the opinions concerning God of several modern thinkers, mainly philosophers, like Hume, Whitehead, Tillich, Marcel, Heidegger, Sartre. This section also includes essays on God in modern literature, psychology and the arts. The last part deals with specific problems such as causality and suffering. Each essay is concluded by a useful list of basic bibliography on the subject. An index of names mentioned in the text concludes this extremely interesting volume.

God in Contemporary Thought broadens and deepens the human knowledge and experience of God. It is a valuable and convenient source of scholarly information which deserves the careful attention of all theologians, philosophers and students of the ecumenical movement.

Constantine N. Tsirpanlis
U.T.S.

ΚΟΣΜΑΣ Ο ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ: Ο ΟΡΘΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΤΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΜΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΛΕΥΤΕΡΙΑΣ. By Konstantinos G. Makrykostas. Introduction by Metropolitan Georgios of Nikaia. Athens: Tenos Publication, 1979. Pp. 112. Illustrated. Paper. 80 drachmas.

ΚΟΣΜΑΣ Ο ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ (1714-1779) ΣΥΝΑΞΑΡΙΟΝ, ΔΙΔΑΧΑΙ-ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΙΑ-ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΙΑ. By Bishop Augoustinos N. Kantiotes, Metropolitan

of Florina. 5th revised edition. Athens: Orthodox Missionary Society of the Cross, 1977. Illustrated. Pp. 426. 300 drachmas.

ΚΟΣΜΑΣ Ο ΑΙΤΟΛΟΣ 1714-1779, ΒΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ, ΔΙΔΑΧΑΙ, ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ, ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΙΑΙ, ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ, ΕΝΘΥΜΗΣΕΙΣ, ΕΞΕΙΚΟΝΙΣΕΙΣ, ΑΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΙΑ. By Theophilos N. Simopoulos. 2nd edition. Athens: n.p., 1979. Pp. 342. Paper.

ΚΟΣΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΤΟΛΟΥ. ΔΙΔΑΧΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ, ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΜΕΛΕΤΗ, ΚΕΙΜΕΝΑ. By Ioannes Menounos. Athens: Tenos, [1979]. Pp. 319. Paper. 300 drachmas.

1979 marked the two-hundredth anniversary of the martyred death of the hieromonk Kosmas Aitolos, one of the most popular saints in Greece today. As this anniversary approached, scores of studies appeared dealing with Kosmas. The four books reviewed here are representative of these publications ranging from popular to scholarly.

The first book, written by Makrykostas, a medical doctor, is a good example of popular writing about Kosmas. Its subtitle, "The Dawn of the Good News of Freedom" is indicative of its theme.

The book is well written with a great deal of literary charm. However, together with some historical data, it includes material and incidents in the life of Kosmas that cannot be substantiated historically but which, nevertheless, have found their way in this and more ambitious studies concerning Kosmas.

According to Makrykostas, Kosmas is alleged to have been initiated into a kind of secret society while a student in the theological academy on Mt. Athos, whose purpose was to fulfill the Great Idea (*Megale Idea*). Questionable, too, is the author's contention that the so-called Kollyvades controversy caused the closing of the theological academy on Mount Athos and that Kosmas, discouraged by the controversy became a monk. Moreover, the author completely misunderstands the nature of the Kollyvades controversy.

It is true that Kosmas urged his non-Greek speaking listeners to learn and to speak Greek, but he did this because the only available schools at that time were Greek, and the language of the Church was Greek. And since he believed strongly that education was one of the major means to resist the proselytizing efforts of the Muslims, he wanted his listeners to be equipped with the language that made their education possible. Hence, the words put by the author into the mouth of Kosmas, "Speak the language of your fathers...because in that language were written the famous works which glorified Greece and the Greeks. With this language Alexander the Great spread Greek civilization among the barbarian peoples in all parts of the world,..." are not only absent from Kosmas' *Didachai*, and are imaginary, but do not reflect historical reality. Equally far from the truth is the contention that "in the thought of Father Kosmas, Hellenism and Christianity were two inseparable concepts."

Kosmas only served one Lord, Jesus Christ, and him he served through teaching the Gospel and service to his fellow human beings.

Equally mythical is the notion that Kosmas urged Christians to dismantle unused churches and that he personally climbed up one such church (after his listeners, astounded by his orders to tear down the church, remained immobile) and began to dismantle it himself. Kosmas may have urged the use of the church resources for the founding and support of schools, but he wanted more schools because they would produce more monks and Christian preachers and teachers.

Here as in much popular writing concerning Kosmas there is an attempt to portray Kosmas as a preacher of nineteenth-century Greek nationalism when in reality he was an itinerant preacher, a selfless monk, who brought Christ's message of hope to a people neglected and abused by those with power, privilege, and wealth in order to bolster their faith and help protect them from Islam.

Metropolitan Augoustinos, the author of the second book, has done more to popularize the life and teaching of Kosmas Aitolos than any writer in Greece today. His study, first published in 1950, has gone through five editions, 1959, 1966, 1971. Each successive edition has been augmented. The first four numbered some 60,000 copies and were completely sold out.

The present fifth edition includes, in addition to the eight *Didachai*, Father Kosmas' extant letters, his six 'Paradigms,' and the 122 'Prophecies' attributed to him, the following: the life and the *akolouthia* of St. Kosmas, written by his disciple Sappheirios Christodoulides, the letter of Patriarch Athenagoras and the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate of Constantinople officially proclaiming Kosmas a saint of the Orthodox Church, the introduction to the first and fifth editions, a brief biography of Kosmas by the author, a study of Kosmas as missionary, and another entitled "Albania and Kosmas Aitolos." Finally, there is a glossary of terms, four maps, and some fifty-nine drawings and photographs in both black and white and color.

For Bishop Augoustinos, Kosmas was above all a prophetic preacher, in fact "a great prophet, the greatest in Orthodoxy," who encountered opposition from various quarters: Turks and Jews, from some ordinary people suffering from ignorance and illiteracy, from the great property holders, from bishops, and even from monks. The latter he attributes to the monks' lack of appreciation of the value of missionary work which has been demonstrated by the fact that although churches have been built in honor of St. Kosmas in many places in Greece, no church or chapel has been dedicated to him on Mount Athos where Kosmas spent some seventeen years.

One of the merits of Kantiotes' book lies in the fact that he rightly emphasized Kosmas' true religious character and mission, even though he, too, falls into the common temptation of believing that Kosmas "loved Orthodoxy. And together with Orthodoxy he loved Greece which was closely and indissolubly bound with her. Greece was the first of the faithful daughters of Or-

thodoxy. Orthodoxy and Greece were united in the Saint's heart." These are later ideas which are anachronistically attributed to Kosmas who spoke only in terms of Orthodoxy, of an Orthodox Church and people. By contributing to the preservation of Orthodoxy in what is present day Greece and Albania, Kosmas contributed to preserving people who would in the next century declare themselves as Orthodox as well as Greeks and Albanians. (See my study "The Price of Faith..." *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 23 (1978), 185-215.) On the other hand, Bishop Auguoustinos is very correct when he states that in much of the writing concerning Kosmas Aitolos he is presented in a distorted fashion.

Each attempts to give the picture (of Kosmas) a color of his own choosing, his aim and thoughts and feeling in such a way that from the mouth of the Saint are expressed ideas of secular circles which if he were alive to hear of them today, the Saint would shudder over the frightful distortion and falsification of the meaning of his struggle. Because, for example, under some exceptional circumstances the Saint permitted material from some destroyed church to be used to build a school . . . immediately the conclusion was drawn that Kosmas did nothing else but demolish churches to build schools. (29-30) (But Kosmas) wanted learning, he wanted it as a support for the moral and religious education of the people, saying that the school opens churches, opens monasteries... (29-30).

Because on another occasion he happened to castigate the sins, the moral transgressions, the mercilessness and injustice of the rich and, in general, those who held some high position in society, . . . others concluded that the Saint was nothing but a social revolutionary, engaged in class warfare to stir up the 'small people' to rise up against the 'great.' Because at some other time he criticized clerical transgressions and indeed of bishops, they concluded from the criticism that Kosmas was against bishops. Because he spoke the language of the people, therefore said the proponents of the vulgar language—Kosmas was a (proponent) of the demotic language, believing that the people would be saved only by this language. And finally, others judging from certain expressions and actions (of the Saint)—said that he was an agent of a foreign power—the Moscovites—being involved in the Orloff rebellion, a charge which was used by his enemies the Jews to do away with him (29-30).

The author then proceeds to state in a few words what Kosmas truly was all about.

Kosmas, was, indeed, a complex personality, a many-faceted diamond. But every facet of this spiritual diamond reflected the same light, the never ending light of the Lord's resurrection. The depth of Kosmas' being was purely *spiritual, evangelical, and metaphysical*. For his generation, Kosmas was an emissary of God, an apostle of Jesus Christ; he was a true missionary. He fulfilled the Lord's commandment, 'Go forth therefore and make all na-

tions'... (31)

Printed in a very handsome edition, Bishop Augoustinos' *Kosmas Aitolos* is on balance the best 'non-scholarly' book on the subject and richly deserves its popularity.

Father Theophilos Simopoulos' book is a veritable encyclopaedia concerning Kosmas but of somewhat unequal quality. Moreover, it suffers somewhat from an absence of organization.

On pages 9-63, the author presents a biography and an appraisal of Kosmas, followed by an account of his martyrdom (64-71), the official patriarchal recognition of Kosmas as a saint (72-73), and another account of his life (74-84). Pages 85-183 occupy Kosmas' 'Didachai' which number nine according to Simopoulos, followed by 'Paradigms' (184-91), Letters (192-200), and 'Prophecies' (201-09). All of this is followed by two pages of folklore material concerning Kosmas, 'Remembrances' (*enthymeseis*), dated from 1765-1815 (212-18), a description of the iconography of Kosmas (219-29), a list of toponyms associated with the saint (230-31), more folklore material (232-61), a chapter on Kosmas in poetry (262-66), an *akolouthia* written by Christodoulides (269-80), another by the monk Gerasimos Mikragiannanites (281-89), followed by thirty pages of plates (mostly icons) of Kosmas. Fr. Simopoulos even includes two short non-Greek accounts of Kosmas written by B.L.A. Ware and M.S. Thompson (*The Nomads of the Balkans...*), and another by Marino and Nicolo Pignatorre (*Memorie...*). The book ends with an epilogue and a select bibliography of thirteen pages.

The author states that there have been 945 publications written concerning Kosmas since 1767. Why did he then add another? To prove that Kosmas was not born in the villages of Mega Dendron or Taxiarches, but at Proskynesi and to show that he was "an awakener, a national apostle, an arouser of the nation, an illuminator, an ascetic, an unmercenary, a true hieromonk who fulfilled the monastic ideal and honored his priesthood, and who by his toilsome life and martyrdom honored his fatherland and the Christian religion. He (Kosmas) did not remain static, a worshipper of forms, a monk removed from the world, one who cared only for himself and his own salvation" (323).

Father Simopoulos believes Kosmas' birthplace to be Proskynesi, a mountain top situated between Mega Dendron and Taxiarches based primarily on the fact that when Kosmas returned 'home' just before his martyrdom, he stopped at Proskynesi and because Kosmas failed to specifically name his village when he spoke of his origin and referred instead in general to the province of Apokouro. Simopoulos' contention is contradicted by two contemporaries of Kosmas, his biographer and disciple Christodoulides and by Nikodemos Hagiorites.

Although the book is intended to be a serious scholarly work, Fr. Simopoulos attributes anachronistic expressions to Kosmas similar to those found in purely popular works (77-79). Moreover, the author was not fortunate in his editor, for there are numerous typographical errors in an otherwise hand-

some book (40, 41, 49, 75, 77, 81). Nevertheless, it is very evident that Father Simopoulos has a deep reverence and affection for Saint Kosmas.

Although over 1100 studies of varying lengths have appeared in the last two hundred years concerning Kosmas Aitolos, no one has up to now seriously attempted to study all the extant manuscripts containing the sermons (*didachai*) of Kosmas. This Ioannes Menounos has done in a doctoral dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Theology of the University of Ioannina, Greece, thus performing a very necessary and valuable service to theological scholarship.

His study is divided into two major points: A) "Philosophical Study of the *Didachai*" (pp. 17-105), and B) "The Texts" (113-302). To these must be added a very select bibliography, a listing of the Patriarchs of Constantinople during the time of Kosmas, an English summary, a glossary, three illustrations, and an index.

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ORTHODOXY AND THE CULTS

In the wake of an alarming increase in the number and activities of cults in the Americas and in Eastern and Western Europe, there is ever greater attention by theologians, sociologists, psychologists, and anthropologists to the question of what constitutes a valid religion and what constitutes a cult. A glut of articles on this subject in the popular press, in church periodicals, and in some academic journals attests to its consideration as an important social issue. On the whole, these responses have been essentially pragmatic and not theological; that is, writers have attempted to guide individuals towards more established religious groups, away from groups overly dependent on the personal charisma of a cult leader, and to offer guidelines that distinguish the so-called 'self-styled' religions from the established religious bodies. This pragmatic approach emphasizes, for example, that one should seek out a Christian group (and our concern here is solely with Christian groups) which shares most of the fundamental tenets of the 'mainline' churches: the pre-eminent authority of Scripture, the divinity of Christ, a catholic view of the Church (as a universal body open to all, not just to a small fragment of humanity), and dependence on the Grace of God rather than the efficacy of mere human action. In effect, one distinguishes the cult from the 'valid' believing body by social comparison: the 'existing' with the 'would be,' the 'traditional' with the 'innovative.' All of the rejoinders, qualifiers, exceptions and limitations aside, from a pragmatic viewpoint these characteristics are the few that really offer the proverbial 'handle' on the subject. They are probably distinguishing criteria which Christians in general, from Orthodox to Reformed, can readily identify and validate.

But what if these criteria are theological and not pragmatic? Dependence on God's Grace over the efforts of man, for example, is a supposition acceptable to Orthodox. But when this supposition becomes theological (i.e., doctrinaire, in our present usage) and asserts the formula of the Reformation *sola gratia*, then where is the Orthodox Christian? Not confined by such a precise

formula, he might stand condemned as a member of a cult, in the most pejorative sense of that word. And the unfortunate fact is that these distinguishing characteristics have, indeed, been made theological. More than two decades ago, Kurt Hutten, in his *Die Glaubenswelt des Sektierers*,¹ one of the most complete Protestant treatments of cultism, set out to characterize the cult and, in so doing, interpreted the very characteristics to which we have alluded above specifically and in detail *vis-à-vis* Reformed theology.² Our concern, then, is that if the definition of a cultist group takes on wholly doctrinaire meaning, the implications, especially for Orthodox, are not encouraging.

First, needless to say, no single theological tradition should be established as the comparative 'other' by which the cult is distinguished. If this were so, moreover, the Orthodox, with a venerable and ancient tradition surpassed by no other Christian church, should constitute the valid criterion of judgment. Secondly, whereas churches growing out of the Reformed tradition have an influential and populous representation in the Americas and in Western Europe, Orthodox populations in these areas are less evident. It is, in such a circumstance, easy to confuse Reformation theological formulas as the 'mainstream' ones and to relegate the Orthodox position, by inference, to a cultist level. Finally, it has been noted elsewhere³ that Orthodox, especially in the Americas, are struggling to establish a firm sub-structure for spiritual self-knowledge. In such a delicate stage of development, Orthodox are too easily apt to apologize for their ostensible irregularities in the face of a Western theological system or lexicon largely inappropriate and inapplicable to them. There arises the occasion, then, for Orthodox, confronted with Reformation theological definitions of the cult, either to fail to grasp the significance of their own witness (out of fear of conviction as a cult), or subtly and unwittingly to distort their own self-presentation in order to meet the demand characteristic of the definition of validity offered from outside their own tradition. For these reasons, we think it timely to confront Hutten's formulation of the characteristics of the cult with an Orthodox response. In this way we might 'de-Reformationize,' so to speak, these characteristics and provide an Orthodox insight into the question of cults versus valid religions which does not compromise our own religious validity. Such a response is crucial and long overdue.⁴

Hutten identifies four major characteristics of the cults. The

first of these he calls the phenomenon of a "Bible in the left hand." Alluding to the ordination of an individual into the Swedenborgian ministry while holding a Bible in his right hand and one of Swedenborg's books in his left, Hutten quite rightly suggests that 'Christian' cults, in an attempt to support their particular non-biblical doctrines, must supplement scriptural authority (to which they usually subjugate themselves as 'Christians') with extra-scriptural sources for those doctrines. These sources are often called reinterpetive texts, which suppose either new revelation or knowledge from hitherto undiscovered revelatory writings. We tend to agree with Professor Hutten that cult activists do seem to gravitate towards non-scriptural sources of authority. It is an historically verified characteristic to be observed equally dominant in movements so divergent as Mormonism and nineteenth-century pietistic humanism. And its most frightening danger is that extra-scriptural authorities, often modelled after scriptural language and using scriptural imagery, often in scriptural style, and just as often treated with the same veneration as Scripture, attract to themselves, by association, the virtual authority of the Bible itself. An otherwise Bible-oriented Christian attributes to these extra-scriptural sources, in a subtle, perhaps unrecognized, manner, the authoritative 'context' and aura of recognized inspired texts.

This first characteristic of the cult is not compromising of the Orthodox self-presentation if it remains fundamentally functional in application. But when one begins to voice the Reformation motto *sola Scriptura* theologically, contending that there is no source of authority other than the Bible, then a statement unacceptable to the Orthodox Christian is made. Indeed, the Orthodox Church exalts the authority of Scripture, but at the same time it recognizes and exalts the authoritative and inspired nature of the unwritten Apostolic tradition, the seven holy Ecumenical Synods, and the writings of the Church Fathers. For indeed, the Holy Spirit did not cease inspiring Christians subsequent to the completion of the accepted canon of Scripture. And never has the Eastern Church lost the spirit of the Evangelist Philip when he set forth to "guide" (Acts 8:31) the Ethiopian queen's eunuch in understanding Scripture. The Eastern Orthodox Church triumphs the hermeneutic thrust of patristic writings and their involvement integrally in the very transference of the meaning of Scripture to the faithful. This living hermeneutic tradition cannot be separated from Scripture any more than water can be separated from its

hydraulic powers; for, it is an essential part of the Scripture's authority, witnessed by the fact that (however discomfoting this may be to those who suppose the Bible to have dropped as if by divine intervention into the very hands of the believers of the early Church) Scripture is itself the product of the authority of tradition, since the canon of Scripture is the product of synodical authority, the external, formal expression of Church tradition.

Theologically, therefore, the Orthodox Church neither denies the authority of Scripture *nor* limits the source of spiritual authority to the Bible itself. Authority was, in the early Church (and the Orthodox Church claims to express the spirit of that Church *in toto*), a far more metaphysical concept than we today imagine, something not subject to dissection and precise definition. St. Athanasios saw authority in the "*kopon tes pisteos*,"⁵ an expansive notion to which a formula like *sola Scriptura* cannot be reasonably contrasted. The latter expression is too definitive, too constrictive, and too unexpressive of the ineffable authority of truth as the early Church viewed it. Moreover, the early Church, in the more definitive sense, never considered all of Scripture to be contained in what came to be the biblical canon. St. Basil the Great, in fact, as one Orthodox theologian notes, contended that Revelation "was not all delivered in written form."⁶ Scripture is a body of knowledge passed down in the Church in many forms. The holy Ecumenical Synods, the Fathers of the Church, their inspired writings, and the corpus of tradition that constitutes Orthodoxy are, in many ways, Scripture itself, completing and witnessing, yet never supplanting or contradicting, the written biblical canon.

What one must emphasize in confronting Hutten's objection to extra-biblical authority in the Church is his very doctrinaire notion of what constitutes Scripture. To be sure, one must fear any amplification of the biblical canon which detracts from or alters its truth. But such a fear certainly does not apply to the Orthodox Church and its venerable patristic literature, sharing, as it does, the historical source of written Scripture and expressing, in an unbroken patristic consensus, the very existential essence of that scriptural authority. It would seem that Protestants, in calling themselves Lutherans or Calvinists, would be better advised, despite their adherence to the motto *sola Scriptura*, to avoid broad concepts of authority. There exists the constant temptation to exalt the opinion of one single individual or one peculiar opinion.

In the Orthodox tradition this danger is, indeed, less, in that the barometer of traditional authority is always aimed away from the single event, opinion, or individual and towards the *phronema ekklesiastikon*, the *pleroma* of the Church's experience, the mystical Body of Christ, which itself encompasses Scripture by any definition.

The second characteristic of the cult enumerated by Hutten is the cult's denial of justification by Grace alone. Here he champions the Reformation principle of *sola gratia* as the *sine qua non* for valid Christianity. To be sure, the Eastern Christian would find total dependence on God's grace an easy formula to accept. But grace in the Orthodox Church is, like Scripture, not subject to limiting definitions as such. And certainly the selective use of Pauline passages regarding grace over and against the efficacy of good works (Romans 11:6, especially), explicit in Hutten's commentary in this cultic characteristic, is unacceptable (and alien) to the East. The constant interplay between *theoria* and *praxis*, grace and good works in synergy, would disallow, for the Orthodox Christian, the artificial odds at which Western Christians place grace and salutary deeds. If by justification by grace alone one obviates, as does Hutten, the possibility of human action rising up to God and participating in grace, the very Christian experience, as the East receives it, is lost.

Between grace and good works, the Orthodox Church believes, there is a fundamental and necessary relationship dictated by personal spiritual struggle and attainment. One wise father, we are told in the *Evergetinos*, compares a person who teaches with words only, lacking deeds, to a tree with beautiful leaves which does not, however, produce fruit.⁷ Another desert father tells us that we must at all times live recalling our sins,⁸ which leads to humility and salvation, seemingly putting aside deeds as the essential element in spiritual life. These ostensible divergencies allow for a broader definition of grace than the one proposed in the Reformation maxim *sola gratia*, for a freedom inclined toward the patristic axiom that what leads one man to perdition wins salvation for another. Grace, then, is for the Orthodox Christian the totality of God's plan for man, tailored to his individual needs, encompassing both his thoughts *and* his deeds, knowing both his heart and his actions. It neither hinders nor exalts either a man's spiritual state or his salutary deeds. The dichotomy between grace and good deeds is lost in the actualization of God's plan for any

man's life.

If justification by faith is, for the Orthodox, a much more expansive formula than the one which Hutten proffers (thereby not negating the efficacy of human efforts), his grasp of salvation itself is wholly alien to the East. Professor Constantine Cavarnos has remarked, and appropriately so, that "our true ultimate end as Christians is *theosis*, deification, union with God. For this is why Christ became man, taught, suffered, was crucified, and rose from the dead—to show us by His words and deeds the way to *theosis*."⁹ The patristic tradition of the East has always conceived of salvation as deification. St. Peter's New Testamental dictum that the faithful take part in the "divine nature" (2 Peter 1:4) is for the Orthodox a very definition of salvation. And while St. Maximos the Confessor stresses that salvation is given by God's grace alone, he emphasizes that God has given man the desire and will towards deification, thereby lifting his deeds up into participation in grace, in God's will.¹⁰ Salvation (deification), St. Maximos says, is a gift given by the sacrifice of Christ, by God's grace, as a reward to man.¹¹ Man's actions and his deeds 'earn' him, in a certain sense, the reward of deification, which in turn is the gift of God's grace. One should not, here, wish to formalize or further define these concepts and relationships, for they would lose their impact. As interacting principles, they allow for the exercise of human freedom and simultaneously for the full acknowledgment of God's singular gift of salvation to man by grace. At the same time, salvation as deification, as the ascendance of the mundane to divinity, necessarily makes the deeds of man (entwined as they are with the divine) efficacious—though through adoption by God. The Reformation idea of *sola gratia* as Hutten presents it does not convict the Orthodox of cultism, but convicts the motto itself of inadequacy in dealing with Orthodox Christianity.

The devaluation of the unique and singular expiatory efficacy of the person of Christ is a third characteristic of the cult, according to Professor Hutten. His formal statement of this characteristic is fully acceptable to Orthodoxy. However, there emerges in his commentary an idea that recognizing the role of other spiritual figures in man's salvation somehow devalues Christ. This idea occasions, once again, the possibility of misunderstanding or dismissing Orthodox precepts as cultic; for, indeed, while fully adhering to the belief that *only* through the redemptive sacrifice of Christ is man saved, the Orthodox Church recognizes the effec-

tiveness of and need for intercession before Christ by the saints and most especially by the Theotokos, the Virgin Mother of God. But, as we shall see subsequently, the recognition of intercessory powers is not a devaluation of Christ, but rather a full application of His redemptive powers, an expansive awareness of the transforming effect of his sacrifice on his own Mother and on the saints. One would expect nothing less from the Church which is heir to the Christological Synods which championed the basic formulations of Christ's nature, work, and sacrifice, to which formulation even Hutten's Reformed tradition owes a great debt for its Christology—a Christology which, in its Reformed interpretation, has come to have limitations in definition too great to allow it to serve as the absolute criterion by which another tradition is pronounced genuine or cultic.

It is a sad and grievous thing that the devotion of the Eastern Church to the Virgin Mary is so often misunderstood by Western Protestants, for it is *par excellence* a Christological devotion. First, we can agree with the trenchant observations of Jaroslav Pelikan that the Mariological doctrines of the Orthodox Church have as their "principal locus" liturgical worship; even their dogmatic articulation arose out of worship and devotion.¹² It was in the very liturgies (notably those of Sts. Basil and Chrysostom), in which Christ is "invisibly present" (Liturgy of Chrysostom), that the intercession of Mary was encountered. Her intercession in the mystical presence of Christ (reflected in traditional iconography where the lone figure of the Theotokos, without the image of Christ, is very rare) emphasizes that this intercession is Christological in essence and in function, an integral part of the believer's reception of Christ. Secondly, since this intercession is perfectly in keeping with scriptural references to the intercession (prayers) of the righteous as helpful to man, there is not a basic extra-scriptural source for Orthodox Mariology. It is both scriptural and Christocentric. And finally, because the birth of Christ to the Virgin Mother of God, as St. Maximos the Confessor has written, symbolizes the birth of Christ in an unbodily way (*asomatos*) in the believer, taking part, as he does, in the divine nature (2 Peter 1:4), the Theotokos is the very core of man's acquisition of Christ's redemptive promise.¹³ It is, no doubt, because of the immediacy of the Virgin Mary's image in man's realization of the salvation offered in Christ that the early Church so naturally and so spontaneously accepted Mariology, not as a usurpation of the

Lord's singular expiatory significance, but as a participation in and expression of that redemption.

Too often Protestants also assume that the so-called 'cults of the saints' are, in the Eastern Church, wrought with the non-Christocentric abuses which one sometimes finds in Roman Catholic hagiolatry. This is unfortunate, for in actuality the Eastern Orthodox veneration of saints is a direct veneration of Christ Himself. Sainthood is best defined as deification, i.e., union with Christ. Father Kallistos (Timothy) Ware superbly expresses this truth in his incisive assertion that, "if the saints are so-called, it is because they participate in the sanctity of God—because they have been 'deified,' becoming 'gods by Grace,' 'Christs in Jesus Christ.'"¹⁴ One notices in this astounding statement the absence of the special position of mediation so carefully formalized in Latin hagiolatry, and sense immediately that the Orthodox view of sainthood is closely connected with Christology, soteriology, and, as we have suggested above, Mariology as well. Any thought of Eastern veneration of saints as detracting from the expiatory singularity of Christ's sacrifice seems far-fetched, even to the least objective of observers. And though this formulation of the Eastern Church's tradition with regard to saints is neither new nor uniquely stated here, it goes repeatedly unheeded by Protestant observers. It is this frequent disregard which can lead to misunderstanding and to misstatement of the supremely Christocentric nature of the Orthodox witness.

The last major characteristic of the cult offered by Hutten which we wish to consider is that of the exclusivity of the group as a community of the saved. Using a broad definition of the Church catholic, Hutten opines that any group which lays claim to exclusive truth is cultic. Certainly one is prompted to agree that very restrictive definitions of the Church that discourage by their formulation Christian witness and evangelical mission are cultic, if not abhorrent. But at the same time, it would be naive, indeed, to imagine that scripture and church tradition do not identify true members of the Body of Christ as a select group in possession, not only of truth, but the uniqueness of a new life. Moreover, it is curious that Professor Hutten decries as cultic any 'corner' on the truth, while at the same time denying the Christianity of those who do not share his precisely-stated Reformed theological requisites. No doubt this curiosity emerges only in critical focus and perhaps by overstatement, but the danger for the Orthodox Chris-

tian, who thinks of himself in many ways as expressing an exclusive truth, is implicit.

As a rejoinder to Professor Hutten's objection to an exclusivistic ecclesiastical stance, we might address the claims of the Eastern Orthodox Church with some care. It must, at the outset, be understood that Orthodox, perhaps as no other tradition, have a compelling claim to exclusivity as the Church of Christ. The early Church, in the great and holy Ecumenical Synods, of which the basic tenets of Christian doctrine accepted by almost all traditions were defined, was preponderantly an Eastern Church. The Synods themselves were overwhelmingly attended by bishops of the Eastern sees. And the earliest extant liturgical traditions are Eastern. These facts, then, bespeak the historical dimension in which the Eastern Orthodox Church conceives of her exclusivity. And because she sees herself, in this historical context, as the very Ark of Salvation, the very Church of Christ, she also proclaims herself the exclusive community of the saved. Nowhere in traditional ecclesiological statements has the Orthodox Church known herself as anything else. But neither has the Church ever failed to know this exclusivity as an historical manifestation, not as some institutional trait; nor has she separated this claim from her foundation in Christ, by which fact she is compelled to announce the Gospel to all men and to pronounce an exclusivity open to all.

At another level, Hutten neglects the fact that claims to exclusivity carry with them responsibilities that belie the arrogance of the cultic self-appropriation of truth. It is not so much exclusivity that effects a cultic trait, but the source and effect of that supposed exclusivity. As we have noted, an exclusivity traced essentially to Christ demands, paradoxically, an open attitude towards others. At the same time, it demands humility and love. In considering itself the Church of Christ, the Orthodox Church simultaneously recognizes its responsibility to express this exclusivity in acts of love towards all men, regardless of their beliefs, and to do so always with humility. To express an exclusive truth which one is called upon to promulgate and to actualize in his life is not, then, necessarily something cultic or negative. Thus it is that we find St. Kosmas Aitolos, deeply committed to the exclusive claims to primacy of the Orthodox Church, warning that it is on the wings of humility and love only that the Christian soars into Paradise.¹⁵ Exclusivity is quite obviously not always un-Christian and arrogant.

Lastly, one must not imagine that the Orthodox claims to exclusive possession of the truth are without pragmatic ramifications. The Orthodox view of the Church is not solely institutional. St. Seraphim of Sarov is well-known for his characterization of Christian practices as indispensable means to the end of spiritual attainment, but not ends in themselves.¹⁶ In a limited sense we can say that the Church, too, is a vessel, that it serves the end of carrying man into the safe harbor of salvation, of deifying man and of witnessing the divine in the world. She can hold up as the accomplishment of this task the many God-bearing fathers who have entered into the "divine nature." She can lay before the world the many grace-filled relics of their ascent. She can offer up in sacrifice the life-giving Mysteria which any man can inwardly touch, feel, and experience. The Church can set forth the Christian goal, a path (a means to an end), and can witness the fact that holy saints have attained that end by the same means which the Church has established. A claim to exclusivity in such an instance is not so much a claim to possession as it is an inviting offer to accept a 'tried and true' road.

Let us expand further on this idea of the Church as a guide. Envision life as *peregrinatio*, as a wandering pilgrimage through a deep and dark forest. Let us see the Church as offering a path cut through the forest to the Life-Giving Fountain of pure waters in the region of light beyond the dark forest. Through the Divine Mysteria, those traveling this path are renewed and encouraged by grace-filled water brought from the Fountain to nourish them on their journey. But along this dark road are many dangerous pitfalls and stumbling blocks. These, though unseen in the darkness, are marked by roadsigns of Tradition left by the saints who have successfully trodden this dark path. These roadsigns, if accepted with inner faith by the traveler, are his protection and salvation from fatal falls. Surrounded by darkness on all sides, out of which are heard the demonic calls of every peril, enticing the traveler to stop his journey and refresh himself with the poisonous waters available along the roadside, the path is a fearful one. In this pilgrimage, imagine what peril would await the traveler if he decided to trudge out into the darkness in search of a shorter, easier, or more appealing path. And imagine what the Church would be if, ignoring those whom she has surely guided to the Life-Giving Fountain, she were to say, "Yes, there are other roads," allowing the traveler to find himself in darkness. And even if there were

other roads, would it be responsible to send a weary, weak traveler out seeking them in peril, taking from him the nourishment of her Mysteria and the benefit of the perfect guideposts established on the much-trodden path of tradition? Certainly not. Exclusivity becomes, not an abstract, institutional claim, but an absolute condition for survival. It is not characteristic of the cult only, but, in its true application, of responsible Christian guidance, of the critical need to keep man on the safe road to spiritual attainment, and away from the dangers of passing from path to path, going nowhere, or perhaps taking to a road which has no destination. Exclusivity is, in essence, a pragmatic necessity.

From our discussion it is evident that Professor Hutten's essentially theological characterization of the cult is inadequate to deal with the expansive theological notions of the Eastern Orthodox witness.

NOTES

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1. Kurt Hutten, *Die Glaubenswelt des Sektierers* (Hamburg, 1957).

2. Our admittedly broad use of the term "Reformed" in this article refers to tenets held commonly by the principal churches originating in the Reformation, not only to the specific post-Lutheran reformed groups (Calvin, Zwingli, etc.) which at times champion the term. It is a usage noted in Hutten, note 1.

3. See Abbot Chrysostomos and Hierodeacon Akakios, "Some Thoughtful Comments on Orthodox Meditation," *Diakonia*, 14 (1979), 151-57.

4. We might note here, too, that recent dialogues between Greek Orthodox and Evangelical Christian (see Stanley Harakas, "New Directions in Orthodox Ecumenism," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 24 (1979), 76-77) make an Orthodox response to these earlier Protestant formulations crucial and timely.

5. "Oratio III Contra Arianos," *PG*, 26:400.

6. See George S. Bebis, "The Concept of Tradition in the Fathers of the Church," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 15 (1970), 39.

7. *Mikros Euergetinos* (Hagion Oros - Athens, 1977), p. 30.

8. *Ibid.*, 115.

9. Constantine Cavarnos, "Knowing God through Icons and Hymnody," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 23 (1978), 286.

10. *PG*, 90:250-350 *pass.*

11. *Ibid.*, col. 637.

12. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600-1700)* (Chicago, 1974), p. 139.
13. See Abbot Chrysostomos, "Orthodox Meditation," p. 155.
14. Timothy Ware, "The Communion of Saints," A.J. Philippou (ed.), *The Orthodox Ethos* (Oxford, 1964), p. 143.
15. Constantine Cavarnos, *St. Cosmas Aitolos* (Belmont, Mass., 1971), p. 49.
16. See Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London, 1957), p. 196.

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PATRIARCH PHOTIOS — A CHRISTIAN HUMANIST

The ninth century in Byzantium is an interesting and important century because of its humanistic spirit. With the missionary activities of Sts. Constantine and Methodios, Christianity and Byzantine culture were spreading among the Slavic people;¹ Arabs as well as Latins came under Byzantine culture. The Calif Mamoun invited Leo the Philosopher to come to Bagdad and disseminate his thoughts;² in the West the works of St. Dionysios the Areopagite, of St. Maximos the Confessor, and of St. John of Damascus were being translated into Latin. These translations disclosed the mysticism and the Christian discipline of the Greek East to the Latin West.

These testimonies show, of course, that Byzantium was in a spiritual renaissance and that other people recognized it and sought its guidance. But they also reveal something else, that has been overlooked by many; that this renaissance was not a sudden phenomenon, that it presupposed a lengthy foundation, and that the seventh and eighth centuries were not the 'dark ages,' as they so often are called.³

The seventh century produced such personalities as St. Maximos the Confessor, Patriarch Sergios, and Anastasios Sinaites, while the eighth gave us the writings of St. Germanos, St. John of Damascus, Patriarch Nikephoros, St. Theodore of Studios and the much-discussed topic concerning the veneration of icons.

Following the solution of the iconoclastic controversy, the Byzantines brought together in a new way a synthesis of the two great sources of their heritage—Orthodox Christianity and Greek culture. This fact alone is enough to justify the terms renaissance and humanistic spirit, which are given to the ninth century.⁴

The man who represents most characteristically the ninth century is Patriarch Photios of Constantinople. His life spans most of the century and his intellectual activity fills this period with its extensive and expansive interest. Photios, as the most prolific writer of the century, is therefore the exponent of humanism.⁵ The output of Photios is impressive in volume as well as in diversity of content. He is not only a theologian and defender of Orthodoxy

and at the same time a many-sided scientific mind. Along with his rich literary works, he has interest in and writes about philosophy, history, mathematics, astronomy, geography, medicine, music, poetry, and even law.⁶ His admiration and knowledge of antiquity, however, does not interfere with his religious beliefs. Photios has, like most of the Byzantine men of letters, the ability to combine harmoniously science and religion. Above all, he is a Christian. For these and many other reasons Photios attracted the interest of many scholars at an early time. The bibliography on Photios is rich;⁷ nevertheless, we cannot say with certainty that we know this man completely and exhaustively. There is still the need for more study of his extensive works.

The quality, however, and the importance of his contribution is apparent, if we examine the position he took towards certain important issues. One of the basic topics of the ninth century was the "*Θύραθεν Παιδεία*," that is, the Greek works on science and philosophy and their place in education.⁸ What was Photios' position on this? The problem is rooted in the long history of Christianity. Immediately, we can say, from the very beginning there was some give and take between Christianity and Greek culture.⁹

This was natural since Christianity began in a Hellenized environment. The important development—the attempt of Christians to embody in their teachings as many elements as possible of the Greek culture which could serve in the formation of the Christian individual—assumed many different facets during the centuries depending upon the temper of the time.¹⁰

With Photios an important phase which contains the main elements of the humanistic spirit of the later Byzantine centuries was inaugurated. We can understand better its importance if we take into consideration the new conditions under which it appeared.

Even up to the time of Justinian, the Fathers of the Church and other writers who wrote of Greek education dealt with something they had more or less experienced themselves. Many of them had attended pagan schools and some even were pagans when they attended them. Others such as Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, and Gregory the Theologian had attended the universities of Athens, Antioch, and Alexandria and had studied with pagan teachers.

At the time of Photios, however, Greek education and letters had entered into a period of dormancy. They were regarded as something that belonged to the past. We do not speak here of the elements which had already been incorporated into Christianity,

but also of Greek education as a whole.¹¹ This is the same basic problem which from the time of Photios has occupied every generation in Byzantium, and later would occupy the West, from the Renaissance on. This movement has been termed humanism,¹² but the denotation of this term does not adequately embrace the extent of the problem. This moment in the evolution of consciousness, this new humanistic synthesis, this new humanistic spirit in Christianity is captured explicitly for the first time by Photios.

Of the life of Photios the only two certain dates we have are those of his two patriarchates, 858-867 and 878-886. The exact date of his birth as well as that of his death are not known.¹³ He came from an illustrious family; his father was the brother of the Patriarch Tarasios,¹⁴ while on his mother's side he was related to the imperial house.¹⁵ Furthermore, his parents belonged to the party of the iconophiles and, as it is evident from his letters, they died in exile.¹⁶

Photios, along with Michael Psellos of the eleventh century and Pletho Gemistos of the fifteenth, remains one of the great figures in the history of Byzantine thought. The legend recorded of him that he had sold his soul in his youth to a Jewish magician made him a precursor of Faust.¹⁷ There is an analogous story, of course, about Pletho and his connection with a Jew, Eliseus, at the sultan's court in Adrianople,¹⁸ and also on Gerbert, better known as Pope Sylvester II, and his pact with the devil.¹⁹

About Photios' education we also have very few details. Because the names of his teachers are not known, many scholars believe he was self-taught.²⁰ Of his career before he became Patriarch of Constantinople we know only that he was a government official, then a teacher at the University of Magnaura, and later the Proto-asekretes when he was elected by the Emperor Michael III and his uncle Caesar Bardas to succeed Ignatios as Patriarch.²¹

As our knowledge of his personal life is limited, we must turn to his works to know the man: they are his true testimony. While still a youth, he wrote the *Lexicon* of some 7000-8000 words.²² According to Photios, he collected "not all the words in all their different meanings which would have been an impossible task, but the most current and those most frequently employed." Many archaic Attic words were thus preserved. He also collected a mass of archeological data, and mentioned historians, grammarians, and lexicographers whose works since have been lost. Thus he forged an important link in the long chain of Greek lexicographers and, especially for us, a testimony of the literary and humanistic tastes

which were his own and also those of Byzantium.

Until recently the scholarly reputation of Patriarch Photios has been based on his *Bibliotheca*, a collection of criticisms and extracts from 279 works studied by Photios, probably in his youth.²³ In this work, he reviewed the writings of various authors from antiquity to his time. Thanks to Photios we are aware today of many Greek and Roman writers whose works have since perished. Also, thanks to Photios, we have a clear idea not only of the high level of culture but also of the main literary trends in the Byzantine Empire in the ninth century.

Photios belonged to the group which defended the classics. On literary criticism, Ziegler wrote in conclusion to his extensive work on the *Bibliotheca*: "It is apparent to me that from the end of antiquity until the time of Photios there was conserved in the domain of literary criticism a tradition of the School which is not discernible for us but which was never interrupted: Photios collected it and revived it."²⁴

Thus, just as his *Lexicon* deserves to be placed among the great examples of lexicography, his *Bibliotheca* deserves to be an exemplar within the great stylistic tradition of rhetoric. Professor G. Kustas considers Photios' style of literary criticism as the development of a unique Christian mode, which also drew heavily upon the style of the ancients. He shows that Photios knew and often combined the diverse tendencies of both styles.²⁵

But, Photios also further insisted upon the conscience of an ethical Christian—could we say that of a Christian-humanist? And so it was that Photios brought about a fusion between Christianity and classical tradition in establishing a bond between the abstract literary concepts on the one hand and the moral religious qualities on the other.

This may have been one of the reasons for the great success of the *Bibliotheca*. For it re-established an idea which we have already expressed: that Photios sanctioned a new attitude with regard to pagan literature while still giving preference to the Christian. This was happening at a time when the triumph of Orthodoxy gave the Christian world confidence and security; and also it may mark the appearance of a new classicism, which became Byzantine classicism, essentially Christian, accepting, utilizing and for a part assimilating the profane Greek tradition.

The preferred vocation of Patriarch Photios, as his letters show,²⁶ was that of a teacher. He was teaching at the school of Magnaura before he became Patriarch. The subjects he taught, as

we can verify from his writings, were mainly theology, logic, dialectic, and literature. Among his pupils and associates were Constantine the Philosopher, Arethas, Leo the mathematician, the Emperor Leo VI the Wise, who, following the example of Photios, turned his palace into a meeting center for the learned men of his time. And afterwards, his son Constantine Porphyrogenetos would follow his father's example and continue the tradition of Photios. The happiest times and recollections for Photios were most definitely when he had the chance to teach and when he was in the company of his students.²⁷ A letter addressed to Pope Nicholas I expresses this preference: "I was forced under this yoke," he writes the Pope, meaning his appointment as Patriarch of Constantinople.²⁸ "How can I think of my previous life without crying?" And he continues:

For when I stayed at home I was surrounded with the most sweet of pleasures. Seeing the zeal of my students, the earnestness of those who asked questions and the concern of those who answered them – And when I had to go to my duties at the Imperial Court their warm prayers followed me not to be long; . . . And when I returned home this group was standing and waiting for me in front of my door; some of them the more intimate to me because of their virtue, reproached me for being late; while others were content to greeting me and others, yet let show that they were waiting with impatience. And all these happened over and over without any plotting nor envy, or jealousy. And who, after having known such a life, would tolerate without lamenting the change?²⁹

A pupil of Photios, Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos, in a letter that he wrote to the Emir of Crete related and reproduced many of the ideas of Photios regarding relations between Christians and Muslims:

Your wisdom cannot have failed to notice that the greatest among the high priests of God, the famous Photios, my father in the Holy Spirit, was united to the father of your Highness by bonds of friendship; so much so that no other man of his faith and country was so friendly disposed to yours. For being a man of God, and great in the knowledge of things divine and human, he knew that even if the dividing wall of religion stood between us, nevertheless, the gifts of practical wisdom, sagacity, stability of behavior, knowledge, and all the other gifts that adorn and exalt human nature by their presence arouse in the breasts of good men an affection for those in whom the love qualities are found.³⁰

To those who hesitate to acclaim Photios as a humanist and accuse him of lacking "the expansion of spirit, the generous comprehension, the tolerance," to quote Paul Lemerle,³¹ this letter should be enough proof.

On the other hand, to Michael, the protospatharios, who asked him for his opinion on education, Photios gave him his own definition: "The acquisition of education is for the old the greatest staff of life, and for the blossoming young, the road to virtue; educate thus your children in wisdom and virtue, in order that when they are still young they will not need the help of others."³² Here it is not the theologian who is speaking; here speaks the lover of education who knows its value of formation in the cultivation of man-the-humanist.

In the famous letter written to Michael-Boris, the Khagan of Bulgaria, after he was baptized, Photios gives advice to the neophyte on the duties of a Christian prince.³³ The letter is in the tradition of Isocrates's orations addressed to Nicocles and Demonilos and anticipates by 600 years the *Education of a Christian Prince* by Erasmus. In this letter Photios has many interesting and timely remarks to make. Among the first points, Photios tells Michael to be careful in his appearance. He writes, "Do not neglect what pertains to the body such as habits and appearance and movements thinking that they are not important; for the acquisition and cultivation of such habits is not small proof of diligence . . ."³⁴ Photios continues his admonitions, saying, "You must take care of your face, and look after your hair, and dress, as to appear worthy of respect; do not, however, carry this care to the extreme as to appear absurd, but also not neglected."³⁵

Concerned about the total impact of the ideal leader's impressions on others, Photios offers his advice on speech. "Do not be a fast talker," Photios warns, "for those who rule and especially the statesmen and government officials, rapid speech makes them appear trivial and irresolute." Photios adds that "It is less dangerous to be slow . . . because when you err the effect will be less significant and damaging."³⁶

A ruler, according to Photios, cannot afford to have many friends, but those whom he does confide in and rely on should be treated with careful consideration. Regarding friendship in general Photios advises, "Do not be quick in making ties of friendship, but when you have made them stay with it . . . do not desert your friends . . . Make friends among the best . . . for from one's friends one's character is judged . . . Do not ask to hear from your friends

the pleasant but rather the truth.”³⁷ He continues with further comments on the importance of tactful self-revelation: “With regards to secrets, if they add to your excellence share them with your friends. Those, however, which corrupt the mind—do not pursue them yourself and do not reveal them to your friends either.”³⁸

While the ruler must be concerned about his own appearance, speech, and friends, he must go beyond personal considerations to insure that his subjects are treated fairly and with a consistency that demonstrates regard and good faith. Photios writes, “Rule your subjects by relying on their good will. For good will is a greater and firmer foundation than fear.”³⁹ Continuing, he remarks, “Do not easily and without clear reason change your disposition towards your subjects; even if the causes which made you change your attitude are concealed from them, those who do not know the real reasons will not blame them but you and they will accuse you of intellectual ambivalence.”⁴⁰

It is apparent that Photios regards the relationship between ruler and subject as a bond of love, duty, and mutual understanding. Photios contends that “It is not bravery in war that saves the ruler, but rather his love and good will for his subjects.”⁴¹ In the same vein, Photios says that “For many reasons the ruler must search for the opinions of his subjects and thus sharing in common with them, he can make use of their friendship.”⁴² Such mutual regard leaves no place for ruling by fear: “It is difficult to mix fear with love; for those who love generally do not have fear; and those who fear are not willing to love.”⁴³

Photios clearly sees an ideal ruler as one who acts out of consideration for his subjects. Honesty is the key to the humane leader’s actions. As Photios advises, “Deception is always the acknowledgment of weakness, and when it is done to a friend it is the lowest of depravity; also when it is done against enemies who have not foreseen it, it is far from being a good strategy . . . therefore do not pursue with deception even your enemies when they trust you. For even though they are the enemy, yet nonetheless is he a fraudulent deceiver who tricks them while they have put trust in him.”⁴⁴ In the same spirit Photios remarks, “When you are well treated always remember it; on the other hand, quickly forget those whom you have benefited.”⁴⁵

While any ruler will find it necessary at times to mete out punishment, the humane prince should control his anger and act with cool calculation. Turning to ancient wisdom for his example, Pho-

tios admonishes Michael-Boris, "Never punish anyone even justly while you are angry. Even if the guilty man is punished, you would nonetheless be thought to have acted badly in the matter. This is why one of the ancients declared to someone who had erred: 'I would chastise you, if I were not angry.'"⁴⁶

Photios's views on marriage and women are set forth as the Patriarch attempts to cover all facets of humanity for his correspondent. According to Photios, "It is disgraceful for a ruler to be subject to his pleasures. But if one lives with a woman whom he has taken as his helpmate, then he does not sin. Celibacy is a marvelous and extraordinary state; monogamy is proper to human nature; it serves for the propagation of the race in a well-ordered society. Polygamy, on the other hand, is exceedingly ugly and vile, the mark of lascivious and unclean brutes."⁴⁷

Photios does not forget to advise Michael-Boris to study history: "It is your duty to cultivate practical wisdom through all the course of your life." As he draws to the end of the letter, Photios remarks that "the happiness of the citizenry proclaims aloud the full understanding and justice of those who exercise it."⁴⁸

The concluding paragraph of his letter summarizes Patriarch Photios's own thoughts and echoes Plato's *Republic*:

O my noble and real prince of my spiritual labors, these are but few proofs of the paternal love and the friendship I hold for you which I give you as tokens and also as archetypical pictures of virtue. Looking at them, change and model yourself after them. You will have no difficulty in seeing what actions allow beauty to blossom in the soul, and which ones alter like blemishes and wrinkles to a bad and unpleasant appearance. By erasing the latter and nurturing the former you will show yourself as truly spiritual, a most beautiful symbol of the God-fearing state, the most pleasing object of sight and speech to me and to pious people.⁴⁹

We can see from this short study of the works of Patriarch Photios how clearly the heritage of the ancient world was beneficial to the Christians of the ninth century without creating any disturbances in their minds. On the contrary, we see that the ninth century Byzantines had achieved a well-balanced attitude to the study of the classical and Hellenistic inheritance and were adjusting it to their Christian environment. In that respect the ninth century Byzantines anticipated the Renaissance of the fifteenth century in the West, and Photios could very well be called the first Christian-humanist.

NOTES

This paper was read at the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Medieval Institute at Western Michigan University.

1. See Francis Dvornik, *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933).

2. Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* (Bonn 1838); 4.189.

3. Nicholas Tomadakes, “Ἡ Δῆθεν Μεγάλη Σιγή τῶν Γραμμάτων ἐν Βυζαντίῳ (650-850), Ἀρχαιωγῶσα καὶ Πνευματικὴ Ἑκδήλωσις.” *ΕΠΙΕΤΗΡΙΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ ΣΠΟΤΔΩΝ*, 39 (1971), 3-4.

4. F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism: History and Legend* (Cambridge, 1948), p. 2; Paul Lemerle, *Le Premier Humanisme Byzantin* (Paris, 1971), 178.

5. “Il (Photios) domine ce grand IX^e siècle byzantin, qui, avec les règnes de Théophile, de Michel III, de Basil Ier, contient déjà en germe l’éclatant apogée du siècle suivant,” *Ibid.*, p. 177.

6. “[Photios] was versed in grammar, philosophy, poetry, rhetoric, even medicine, and, in general, in every science that the secular education had to offer,” admits Niketas in *Vita Ignatii* PG 105. 505.

7. A complete but biased study of Photios is by Cardinal J. Hergenröther, *Photios Patriarch von Konstantinopel. Sein Leben, seine Schriften und das griechische Schisma*. 3 volumes. (Regensburg, 1867-69). For complete bibliographies see Nicholas Iorga, *Histoire de la vie byzantine. Empire et civilisation* (Bucharest, 1934), pp. 106-07, and H.G. Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur im Byzantinische Reich* (Munich, 1959), p. 527 ff.

8. Ioannes Anastasiou, “Ἡ Κατάστασις τῆς Παιδείας εἰς Βυζάντιον,” *ΚΤΡΙΑΛΟΤ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘΟΔΙΟΤ ΤΟΜΟΣ ΕΟΡΤΙΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΗ ΧΙΛΙΟΣΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΑΤΟΕΣΤΗ ΕΠΙΕΤΗΡΙΑΙ* (Thessalonike, 1966) p. 54.

9. Louis Bréhier, L’enseignement religieux à Byzance, *Revue d’histoire et de Philosophie Religieuse*, 21(1941), pp. 34-69.

10. In the eighth century and at the first part of the ninth, we find a strong division among the clergy: the die-hard conservative monks on one hand, who are iconophiles, versus the iconoclasts who seemed to be more receptive to profane ‘Hellenic’ tradition. N.A. Stratos, *ΤΟ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟ ΣΤΟΝ Ζ’ ΑΙΩΝΑ* (Athens, 1965). 1, pp. 602-26; 2, pp. 626-33.

11. Friedrich Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1926), pp. 18-21.

12. A. Campana, “The Origin of the Word ‘Humanist,’” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 9(1946), 60-73; Salvatore Impellizzeri, “Umanesimo bizantino del IX Secolo e la Genesi della ‘Biblioteca’ di Fozio,” *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, 26-27 (1969-70), 11-14.

13. The dates of the birth of Patriarch Photios range from 800 to 827, while those of his death from 891 to 898: Hergenröther, *Photius*, 1, p. 316, estimates the date of his birth in 827; Abbé Marin, *Les moines de Constantinople* (Paris, 1897), 8, p. 262, in 817; Stavros Aristarches, *ΤΟΤ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΦΩΤΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΛΟΓΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΜΙΛΙΑΙ* (Constantinople, 1901), 1, A3, his birth in 810 and his death in 898; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, “Ὁ Πατριάρχης Φώτιος ὡς Πατὴρ Ἅγιος τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας,” *BZ.*, 8 (1899), 658, his birth close to 800. Of the same opinion is the Metropolitan Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, *ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΗΣ ΔΡΑΣΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΦΩΤΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ* (Athens, 1912), p. 10. For some others the date of birth in 810: Helene Ahrweiler, “Sur la carrière de Photius avant son Patriarchet,” *BZ.*, 18 (1965), 349-50 and J.B. Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (New York, 1965), p. 186.

14. Photios calls Patriarch Tarasios "uncle from his father's side," *PG* 102.609. Tarasios was also from a family of patricians, *Vita Tarasii*, *PG* 98. 1386.

15. Theop. Cont., 4.175; J.B. Bury, "The Relationship of Photius to the Empress Theodora," *English Historical Review*, 13(1890), 225-58.

16. Ioannes Valletas, ΦΩΤΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ (London, 1864), Letter 142, p. 548; see also my study, "Letter of Patriarch Photios to his Brother Tarasios," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* (1973), 48.

17. *Ps. Symeon Magister* (Bonn), 6.668.

18. Plethon Gemisthos was born in Constantinople c. 1335, died in Mistra in 1452, see D.J. Geanakopoulou, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge, Mass. 1962), pp. 85-86.

19. Gerbert or Pope Sylvester II (999-1003), a humanist of the tenth century.

20. Hergenröther, *Photios*, 1,322 supports this opinion; Dvornik, however, is of a different opinion; see *The Patriarch Photios in the Light of Recent Research* (Munich, 1958), pp. 2-4, and "Patriarch Photios Scholar and Statesman," *Classical Folia*, 13(1959), pp. 8-10.

21. Theop. Cont., 4.195.

22. S.A. Naber, *Photius Lexicon*, 2 vols. (Leiden 1864-65); P. Becker, *De Photio et Aretha lexicorum scriptoribus* (Bonn, 1909); L. Politis, "Die Handschriften sammlung des Klosters Zavorda und die neuauftgefundenene Photios-Handschrift," *Philologus*, 105 (1961), pp. 136-44; K. Tsatsanoglou, "Τό λεξικό τοῦ Φωτίου. Χρονολόγηση, χειρόγραφη παράδοση," *ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑ*, 17(1967), 6.

23. The *Bibliotheca* of Photios or the *Myrobiblon* is found in the Manuscripts *Marcanianus 450* and 451 of the tenth century. Works on the *Bibliotheca*: J.H. Freese, *The Library of Photius*, 1920, one volume which included 165 works translated into English; K. Ziegler, "Photios," *RE*, 20(1941), 667-737; R. Henry, *La Bibliothèque de Photius* (Collection Byzantine G. Budé), vols. 1-6 (Paris, 1959-69). The only complete work on the *Bibliotheca* is still the one edited by Bekker, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1824-25). This edition is reproduced in Vols. 103-4. See also *ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ ΦΩΤΙΟΥ*, ed. David Hoeschelius, 1601.

24. Ziegler, "Photios," col. 723.

25. George Kustas, "The Literary Criticism of Photius." *ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ*, 17(1962), 132.

26. The letters of Patriarch Photios can be found in a number of manuscripts. The oldest in existence are the *Ambrosianus 81* and the *Baroccianus graecus 217* both of the tenth century. The letters were edited and translated into Latin under the title, *Photii sanctissimi Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistolae*, by Richard Montacu (London, 1651), probably from the *Baroccianus graecus 217*. The letters are also found in *PG* vol. 102; Ioannes Valettas, ΦΩΤΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ (London, 1864), has edited the text of the letters and compared them with the Montacu and Migne. See also Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ΤΟΤ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΦΩΤΙΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ XLV ΑΝΕΚΔΟΤΟΙ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ (St. Petersburg, 1896).

27. In a letter to Caesar Bardas, Photios complains that he was forced to take the see against his will; Valettas, Letter 117, p. 441.

28. Patriarch Photios' letter of defense to Pope Nicholas I, *ibid.*, 3, p. 149.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

30. *PG* 111.36-37.

31. Paul Lemerle, *Le Premier humanisme byzantin*, (Paris, 1971), p. 203.

32. Valettas, p. 126.

33. *Ibid.*, 6, pp. 200-48; see also the forthcoming translation of D.S. White and J.R. Berrigan, Jr., *The Letter of Patriarch Photios to Boris-Michael Archon of Bulgaria*.

34. Valettas, Letter 6, p. 226.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Ibid., p. 229.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., pp. 230-31.
40. Ibid., p. 232.
41. Ibid., p. 235.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid., p. 237.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., p. 241.
48. Ibid., p. 242.
49. Ibid., p. 244.
50. Ibid., pp. 247-48.

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REVIEWS

Post-Byzantine Ecclesiastical Personalities: Studies of Saint Nikodemos the Hagiorite, Saint Nikephoros of Chios, Neophytos Vamvas, Konstantinos Oikonomos of the Oikonomoi, and Eusebios Matthopoulos. The Byzantine Fellowship Lectures Number Three. Ed. Nomikos Michael Vaporis. Brookline, Massachusetts: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1978. Pp. vii + 112. Paperbound, \$3.95.

Three Byzantine Sacred Poets: Studies of Saint Romanos Melodos, Saint John of Damascus, Saint Symeon the New Theologian. The Byzantine Fellowship Lectures Number Four. Ed. Nomikos Michael Vaporis. Brookline, Massachusetts: Hellenic College Press, 1979. Pp. vii + 74. Paperbound, \$3.95.

The Byzantine Fellowship Lectures have become an annual feature at Hellenic College/Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School. Thanks to the generosity and wisdom of the Byzantine Fellowship, a nonprofit organization founded in 1958 in connection with the dedication of the first Byzantine church to be constructed in authentically Byzantine style—the Church of the Archangels in Stamford, Connecticut—these lectures have been systematically and carefully edited by the Reverend Michael Vaporis for wider circulation. The series has been an excellent one because it has been able to bring together many of the most knowledgeable experts in the United States on topics of fundamental interest and concern to students of Byzantium and the modern Greek Church. The two volumes under review here are fine examples of what we have come to expect in this series and richly deserve our attention.

The 1978 volume entitled *Post-Byzantine Ecclesiastical Personalities* is concerned with five important ecclesiastical personalities of the Greek Orthodox Church of Greece: Saint Nikodemos the Hagiorite (1749-1809), Saint Nikephoros of Chios (1750-1821), Neophytos Vamvas (1776-1856), Konstantinos Oikonomos (1780-1857), and Eusebios Matthopoulos (1849-1929). These interesting figures in their own way reflect and illuminate concerns of the Greek Church in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries and help us enormously to understand the development of the Church of Greece.

The first two articles in the 1978 volume depict for us the lives and works of two modern Orthodox saints. In his presentation, Dr. George S. Bebis (pp. 1-17) reviews Saint Nikodemos the Hagiorite, whose celebrated edition of the *Philokalia* had enormous influence in the Orthodox world, whose *Pedalion* places him among the greatest canonists

of the Church, and whose *Unseen Warfare* is among the most famous of mystical and spiritual writings—just to mention a few of his many contributions. Bebis notes that “Because of his exemplary life and his immense and profound theological knowledge, he greatly contributed toward the correct understanding and solution of the staggering problems of his times. Thus he armed the Greek nation spiritually, morally, and religiously and prepared the Greek Orthodox people for their struggle of liberation in 1821” (p. 2). For Saint Nikodemos, theology and *praxis* go together, as his own life demonstrated. In his lecture on Saint Nikephoros of Chios (pp. 19-36) Dr. Constantine Cavarnos, who is already noted for his immense efforts in modern Orthodox hagiography because of his *Modern Orthodox Saints* series (Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies), surveys and assesses the life and works of another modern Greek saint whom he has already dealt with in detail in his *St. Nikephoros of Chios* (Modern Orthodox Saints 4: Belmont, Massachusetts, 1976). Dr. Cavarnos notes that Saint Nikephoros’s works “give eloquent expression to the Orthodox view of God and man, to the splendor of the virtues of faith, hope, love, wisdom, humility, chastity, courage. . .” (p. 30) and “are permeated with the ideas of the *Philokalia*, such as *theosis*, effulgence, illumination, contemplation, catharsis, passionlessness, inner wakefulness, unceasing mental prayer or prayer of the heart, and holy ascesis in general” (pp. 30-31).

Father Vaporis, who is also Chairman of the Byzantine Fellowship Lectures at Hellenic College, presents us with an unusually vivid and fascinating account of “Neophytos Vamvas and the Translation of the Scriptures in Greece” (pp. 37-67). Professor Vaporis shows how the translation of Scriptures became a test case for Westernization on the part of those who desired a restricted, although more liberal and Western course for Greece, but the same issue also provided the anti-Westernizing conservative Greeks an opportunity to discuss, debate, and oppose many issues and institutions of the new Greek state. Not only is Vamvas discussed, but so is that fascinating and powerful figure Theokletos Pharmakides, a liberal Westernizing clergyman whose views contributed decisively to the separation of the Church of Greece from the Patriarchate of Constantinople, together with the question of the Greek language and Greek nationalism, the presence of Protestant missionaries in Greece, the validity of the Orthodox tradition—and the problem of the translation of Scriptures. Dr. Lewis J. Patsavos provides a counterbalance to Father Vaporis’s story of the “progressive” Greek clergymen of his study by recounting the feverish life and work of “conservative” “Konstantinos Oikonomos of the Oikonomoi” (pp. 69-85). A prolific and polemic writer, teacher, preacher, and worker, Oikonomos opposed the translation of Holy Scripture into modern Greek; considered the slightest change or abridgement of divine worship a sacrilege; accepted the divine inspiration of the Septuagint; rejected oath-taking for

clergymen; condemned all missionaries and their books; and believed that the Church of Greece should have sought the permission and blessing of the Church of Constantinople. Professor Patsavos shows that "Oikonomos was unwilling to go against the tide of his time" and reflected an "arch-conservatism" that "served to counter-balance equally extreme views of the liberal faction" (p. 85). Still, his ecclesiastical, literary, and oratorical works made him one of the most distinguished and prolific of modern Greek writers.

The last contribution by Father Theocharis Chronis deals with "Eusebios Matthopoulos, a Contemporary Prophet" (pp. 87-110), the founder of the Zoe Movement in Greece and "the greatest spiritual personality of modern Greece," the priest who has "contributed the most to the regeneration of the faith and the religious life in modern Greece" (p. 87). Considered a priest/prophet by many of his followers and admirers, Father Matthopoulos utilized preaching, Bible studies, worship, improvised prayers, group education, confession, and personal guidance to challenge the individual to confront God, "called upon to 'create' in himself in eternity through his responsible every-moment decisions in accordance with God's will, which coincides with his true, innermost nature" (p. 104). In this remarkable churchman, who never had any official position within the structure of the institutional Church, Father Chronis sees depth of judgement, spiritual openness and receptiveness, deep and genuine humility, and an example that "even in our time and in our Church the existence of prophets is both possible and desperately needed" (p. 110).

All in all, *Post-Byzantine Ecclesiastical Personalities* provides us with some remarkably interesting and illuminating reading.

Three Byzantine Sacred Poets, though shorter than *Post-Byzantine Ecclesiastical Personalities* and enlisting the contributions of only three authors, possesses a simple but valuable integrity of its own. It could very well serve as an introduction to Byzantine hymnography. In fact, Eva Catafygiotu Topping writes an excellent general introduction entitled "Byzantine Hymnography" (pp. 1-11) in which she shows that "The sacred poets of Byzantium repeatedly hymn the glory of God who loved his creation to the point of accepting pain and death on the cross"; that *theosis* (the deification of man) complemented this theme of glory; and that Theotokos was the third major theme. "Confident of divine *philanthropia*," concludes the author, "the sacred poets celebrated in their hymns goodness and freedom, truth and wisdom, the cosmos and the Creator in heaven. Their hymns are a monument to the faith and grandeur of the human soul in Byzantium" (p. 11). In her second contribution, "St. Romanos the Melodos and His First Nativity Kontakion" (pp. 12-34), originally published in volume XXI of *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* (1976), Mrs. Topping concentrates on Romanos's first kontakion, hailed as a masterpiece of Christian liturgical poetry and

seen by the author as a personal testament of Romanos—a sermon in verse: “With one voice in this Nativity Kontakion Romanos preaches and sings a rare harmony of psalm and lesson, *dulce et utile*” (p. 17). Cast in the shape of a sacred drama, the Incarnation is seen as an eternal encounter and dynamic interaction between man and God. In Mrs. Topping’s succinct words, “By means of paradox, metaphor, hieratic titles and epithets, a vocabulary inherited from Scriptures and earlier Christian literature, the deacon-poet evokes a mystically majestic ikon of God at His birth” (p. 21). In Dr. Constantine Cavarnos’s “Sacred Poetry of St. John Damascene” (pp. 35-36), we are presented with a discussion of the general nature and scope of this great saint and father of the Church and a detailed treatment of the Canon for Easter Day, which is considered his most remarkable composition. Dr. Cavarnos points out that Saint John Damascene was the greatest master of canons, that he was a philosopher and theologian who practiced brevity and preciseness; that he greatly improved and developed musical notation; and that he is recognized as the greatest of the poets of the Eastern Church.

The editor of *Diakonia*, Father George A. Maloney, S. J., provides the final contribution to this attractive volume with his study of “The Doctrine of the Trinity in the Hymns of Divine Love of St. Symeon the New Theologian” (pp. 57-74) in what is probably the most formidable and most perceptive article in the whole volume. For Symeon wanted “to teach all men that we are potentially gods by grace, that everyone is called to share in the Divine Life and experience the Holy Trinity as he had” (p. 57). Father Maloney’s study bases itself on close inspection of his “Fifty-Eight Hymns” which can help us understand that “The experience of the self-giving of the Trinity is not contained and boxed in and experienced only by the Godhead, but is mysteriously and experientially given to man. The Trinity is the self-giving of each Person to the Other and it is identical with the mystery of the self-communication or self-giving of God to us in Christ and in His Spirit” (p. 59). God’s communication with humanity is through the Incarnate Christ. The summit of the Christian life is to love God and be aware of his loving presence, according to Saint Symeon. Father Maloney notes that Saint Symeon balances transcendence and immanence of the Godhead but leans toward immanence because of his deep experiential love relationship within himself of the Trinity. From Saint Symeon’s “Fifty-Eight Hymns” we learn that the Holy Trinity dwells within humanity and we are invited “to be participators in the Divine Love, to grow in the image and likeness of Jesus Christ, so that in and through Him and the Holy Spirit we may be immersed in the Love that is the Cause and Existence of all things” (p. 74).

Both of the above volumes are significant contributions to our ever widening knowledge about the mediaeval and modern worlds as they relate to the Byzantine Orthodox Church and the Greek Orthodox

religion.

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Lumière d'Orient, des chrétientés d'Asie aux mystères évangélique. By Jean Tourniac. In the collection "Mystiques et Religions." Paris: Dervy Livres, 1979. Pp. 158.

Lumière d'Orient is a fascinating study of dissident Christian groups of the Middle and Far East, specifically the Nestorians and Armenian Monophysites. Its approach to these Christian communities is unique and, strictly speaking, represents neither an historical nor a theological treatment. It focuses on what Tourniac refers to as the esoteric and mysterious elements of these groups and these elements as they relate to the interactions of Nestorian and Monophysites with their non-Christian environments, the Crusading Knights, and the synodal debates of the fourth through the eighth centuries. Although he does not define his purpose, it appears by the end of the work to be the disclosure of the life of these two communities as that life reveals the non-synodal and primitive nature of their belief and practices as "esoteric." It was this esoteric element which provided the point of contact between the Monophysites and Nestorians, on the one hand, and the Crusading Knights, on the other.

Both the Armenians and Nestorians played the role of mediator of Eastern religious elements to the West through their close social and military contacts with the Crusaders, particularly Templars. It is quite central for Tourniac's thesis that the Armenians were "localisé géographiquement dans le territoire du mazdéisme" (p. 18), because it was this Syro-mazdean tradition which helped to fashion "une morphologie mentale étrangère au byzantinisme," and presumably congenial to the Latin military orders (p. 27). What strikes Tourniac is the intimacy of the confrontation between Christianity of the East and the West at this period in the Holy Land. The strong and intimate bond between the Armenians and the Templars is symbolized by the presence in the Holy Land of Armenian masons and stoneworkers and the noted building programs of the Templars in the East. Although the presence of Armenian builders has already been noted by Charles Diehl in his work on Byzantine art, it is difficult to conclude that it was the "esoteric" elements of two groups of "builders" which encouraged ecclesiastical union (p. 35). He speaks of different men, from different cultures, drinking from the same "vin de la Connaissance" (p. 48). It is of note here that Tourniac does not discuss any of the actual union negotiations which occurred between the Armenian Church(es) and Rome and the chauvinistic process whereby a great many Latin liturgical customs were introduced into the

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REFLECTIONS ON GREEK CULTURE

“Cogito, ergo sum” (I think, I cogitate, therefore I exist), Descartes said, reiterating in his own manner one of the basic tenets of several ancient Greek philosophers. For them, as well as for Saint John, *logos* was the beginning, the primary cause of life, and of logical life in particular. Logos with its several interconnected meanings—speech, logic, proportion, cause, reason, God—is, as the French philosopher stated, the essence of existence.

The creation and growth of Greek culture, its flourishing and strength, sprang forth, gradually and deliberately, from logos. I will not linger upon the fact that Heraclitos and Plato, the Stoics and other philosophers considered logos an all embracing creative power. I will turn rather to a ‘practical’ man of antiquity, the famous orator and educator Isocrates, to whom higher education, the university form of education, owes perhaps more than to any other single person. Isocrates describes logos as “that power which of all faculties that belong to the nature of man is the source of most of our blessings.”¹ For him logos was not limited to speech or to the spoken word alone but included also inward thought, logical thought properly expressed. Logos was a mark of an understanding mind, a reflection of character, an outward image of inward virtues of the soul, the faculty governing the conduct of personal and public affairs; it was that special element of human nature that raised man above animals and enabled him to create civilization by the founding of cities, the establishment of laws, and the invention of arts. With these powers and functions attributed by Isocrates to logos, education in logos was no mere training in clever oratory but a broad and sound cultural education covering almost all those fields that form what we call today ‘humanistic culture.’ It was the cultivation of expression and reason, of feeling and imagination, and cultivation of the whole man so that he might live a civilized life.²

It is evident that Greek culture has had those characteristics attributed to logos and its functions; so one may safely say that Greek culture stems largely from logos. But it would be a mistake to believe that Greek culture was a cold, rigidly calculated, well-

measured creation of a strictly disciplined mind only, and that feeling and intuition, emotion and passion, imagination and boldness had nothing to do, for instance, in the classical literature and art of ancient Greece. The Greeks have not been afraid to dream and to try new things, to undertake dangerous adventures, to dare even the unknown and impossible. A modern Greek folksong expresses very well that daring and intrepid Greek spirit of adventure:

*‘Απού ’ναι νῶς καί δέν πετᾷ μέ τοῦ βοριά τὰ νέφη, εἶντα
τῇ θέλει τῇ ζωῇ στόν κόσμο νά τήν ἔχει!’*³

(‘He who is young and does not fly with the North Wind’s clouds, for what does he need to have the life in this world!’)

Troubled beauty and moving tenderness, tragic passion and violent sentiment appeared not just in the tragedies of Euripides and the statues of Skopas, who are considered the remote fathers of romanticism, the modern cultural movement that is opposite to classicism. But even absolutely classic poets—normally characterized by calm logic and orderly demeanor—poets like Homer and Pindar, Aeschylus and Sophocles, did not avoid depicting violent passions and abnormal psychological situations. Side by side with the calm and orderly intellect they also used the warm and throbbing heart with its irrational behavior, its pains and joys, its pangs and exultations. Examples from their works are numerous and well known.

Even great systematic thinkers like the philosophers Plato and Aristotle, considered the best representatives of austere logic and scientific order, of dialectical clarity and definitiveness, allowed an important role to *θυμός* (spirit, sentiment and thought, strong feeling and passion) in the process and refinement of human behavior. In fact *θυμικόν* was for them a cardinal part of the human soul. And they themselves sometimes succumbed to the charm of poetical sentiment and the mystery of artistic creation. They certainly acknowledged the dominant role of *logos* (mind, reason, dialectic), but they could not deny the implicit and explicit function and importance of sentiment and intuition. Plato and Aristotle looked to the whole man—soul and body, intellect and sentiment—and not to a portion of him. The interaction of opposing powers was for them a natural and necessary process for the final product: a balanced and stabilized life, a life always vibrant and moving, a life devoid of dead types.

Ancient Greek art reveals the same truth. The Doric column, for example, that sturdy and erect body of straightedged and straight-

lined white stone, is not really straight and immovable. It is full of lively dynamism, movement and vigor, just like a powerful muscular body that is in tension, in restrained tension. Even the Parthenon, that eternal monument of calm classicism, of imposing serenity, of logical, mathematical measurements, that noble creation of balanced composition and natural tranquility—is neither so calm and soulless, nor so straight and immovable. In fact, no line in the Parthenon is absolutely straight. Its lines, horizontal and perpendicular, are curved, running like waves. Under their seeming calmness the columns and walls of the Parthenon are harboring a brewing tempest. One feels that this magnificent work of supreme art and wisdom is full of movement and tension, almost ready to take off but restrained by a superior power: the power of balanced, harmonious composition. The mind governs supreme, yes, but it is the heart that shapes life.

Of course, the pathetic phallacy of sentimentality and the excessive, uncontrolled emotionalism of romanticism, were unknown to ancient Greek culture. The Greeks believed and practised *‘μέτρον ἄριστον’* (medium is the best) medium, not the golden mediocrity (*aurea mediocritas*). Therefore, they expressed their feelings freely and their thoughts with frugality and clarity.

During the Byzantine and subsequent periods, the Christian character of Greek culture is as basic a reality as its intellectual origin from, and the living connection with, ancient Greece. Of course religion depends not only on knowledge but much more on belief. And belief is mostly a matter of sentiment, an affair of the heart rather than of the mind. Here, again, we encounter a balanced blend of classic and romantic element, of mind and feeling, of logos and intuition—a blending which, when achieved properly, might create masterpieces. It is what Dionysios Solomos so brilliantly and wisely defined as *εἶδος μειχτό ἀλλά νόμιμο* (a mixed form but legitimate).

Through the centuries the Greek genius has often accomplished that happy blending of rational and irrational elements of the human soul, and thus created the so-called ‘Greek miracle’ of humanistic and humane culture. This culture is, first, what ancient Greece created in art and literature, in philosophy and science, in ways and means of life, in practical and moral behavior, in politics and transcendental speculation. It is a precious testimony of human achievements which have remained as a living experience through the centuries, as an inspiration and a beacon for mankind.

Second, Greek culture is also what Byzantium created with

Christianity as its ideological and spiritual basis. For, Christianity was the main power, scope, and mission of Byzantium. Therefore, the ancient Greek tradition was continued or changed, supplemented or altogether abolished. New ideas and new needs created new forms and different objects; they suppressed weakened moods or produced fresh trends of thought and behavior. The anthropocentric aspect of the world of the previous Greek culture receded now, and a God-centered view of life prevailed almost in all concepts and activities of man; the culture, however, remained basically Greek, although a *sui generis* Greek. Furthermore, as a natural evolution of the earlier one, it preserved great powers of survival, which it transferred to its successor.

Finally, Greek culture is also the modern Greek culture, the living continuation of the two previous ones, a continuation similar to, but also dissimilar from, its progenitors. It is a new reality with new structure and aims; but it cherishes the rich heritage of ancient Greek and Christian Byzantine cultures, which it represents vividly in a coalition of old and new intrinsic values and objectives, aspirations and goals. This has been especially true for the fundamental beliefs and attitudes of the Greek people today: the customs and mores, the popular traditions, the people's artistic and intellectual creation (folk poetry, folk tales, folk art, etc.), and the people's ways of life and behavior. For instance, modern Greek *φιλότιμο* (a difficult word to translate accurately; approximately it means: self-respect, pride, and honor) is not different from Achilles' *φιλότιμο* about which Homer sang so magnificently and naturally in his *Illiad*. And if we look to modern Greek literature, we will find a corresponding, although lesser, hero in the person of Mitros in Palamas' *Θάνατος Παλληκαριού* (*Death of a Valiant Young Man*, or something similar). The word *παλληκάρι* is also untranslatable. Mitros is a survival of Achilles, for, as Achilles preferred to die young in glory and honor, so Mitros, the 'levendis,' the valiant and handsome young man, prefers to die young rather than live with broken legs, crippled, and disfigured.

Sophocles expressed the same idea in his *Ajax* (479f.):

Τόν εὐγενῆ χρή ἢ καλῶς ζῆν ἢ καλῶς τεθνηκέναί.
(A gentleman should live well or die well.)

The Greek people have always applied this principle, either as private persons or as a nation—particularly when their freedom or honor were threatened. The motto 'Ἐλευθερία ἢ θάνατος' (Freedom or death) is not an empty slogan for them: it is a principle

of faith by which the Greek people live. From Homeric times to the present, the predominant ideas have always been the same: freedom and beauty, an honorable and decent life.

Of the three stages of Greek culture delineated above, the ancient has always been at work, shaping, in one way or another, the thinking and functioning of mankind. Byzantine culture exerted great influence all over the world during the ten centuries of Byzantium; in the last decades its echo has again beneficially resounded in many aspects of theological thinking and artistic creation. Finally, although modern Greek culture is still in a formative stage compared to older cultures, in some areas it has already realized important successes, recognized and acclaimed even by exacting critics abroad.⁴

Now, as one reflects upon the past, one finds that this living entity of the entire corpus of Greek culture of more than three thousand years has exerted an enormous impact on the ways mankind thinks, acts, and lives. The achievements of Greek culture have touched the lives of almost every person on this planet, having affected man's destiny in his finest hours. For instance, man's unending quest for freedom and human dignity has its roots in Greece. Greek culture has opened the way to unparalleled achievements for mankind in all fields of human endeavor. And it can provide inspiration for mankind to reach even greater heights in the years to come. For, Greek culture is *κτῆμα ἐσᾶεί*, "a possession forever," for everyone everywhere.

I deem that the main reason of the prevalence of Greek culture, even in our modern world, is because it is a culture of optimism. It leads to a healthy, forward-looking aspect of life. Its principles are principles for a meaningful *πορεία ζωῆς*, an essential "course of life."

It is because of this that—although the theoretical study of a culture is of primary importance for its knowledge, appreciation and preservation—the living *φορεῖς*, the living carriers of that culture are most important for its survival and growth. Therefore, the one or two million Americans of Greek descent, who in one way or another continue, perpetuate and live the Greek tradition in this country, bear great responsibility in discharging properly their duties as representatives of the Greek culture here. It is also a distinct honor for them to be assigned this great role. Everyone in this country can, and indeed should, keep his particular ethnic character, while at the same time he may, and should, loyally and vigorously pursue his American way of life and thinking. In fact, the

attachment to his ethnic roots may make him a better American.

Of course, the parochial opinion that *πᾶς μὴ Ἕλληνα βάρβαρος* ("anyone who is not Greek is a barbarian"), does not hold true anymore. Rather we should go back again to our good old friend, Isocrates, who said that "Greeks are all who share in the Greek culture;" and we should also concur with the modern poet who declared: "We are all Greeks."

Likewise, the view that other nations do not have worthwhile cultures of their own is a shocking fallacy. One example suffices to refute it: One cannot conceive of the world, one cannot conceive of humanity and human civilization, without Shakespeare's work. Indeed, the provincialism of exclusive clubs is not for the free spirit of today's world, especially concerning civilizations.

Furthermore, we should rid ourselves of the false opinion that whatever the Greeks have created is perfect or that whatever they said or did can be used profitably today. Even the Greeks, you know, are human beings and have made (and are still making) many mistakes—perhaps many more than other peoples do. Therefore, we should not copy slavishly and imitate blindly whatever they—or any other people—have produced. We have to distinguish between good and bad, essential and nonessential, living and dead. As Palamas said very well: *Τρανοί κι ἂν εἶναι οἱ τάφοι, τάφοι θᾶναυ.*⁵ ("The tombs, even if they are great, are still tombs.") We have to choose what is proper for today, what we may accept and develop fruitfully today. We have to look, in Greek culture as well as in other cultures, for things and ideas that are alive and can become fertile today.

Mankind can make this wise choice through education—not the selective education of strict specialization but the all-inclusive responsible education of the whole man. Leading educators have rightly observed that the enormous range of subjects more readily available provides the educational process an excellent occasion for integrating ideas on a wide and all-embracing basis of human knowledge and behavior. To implement that purpose means to give, by concrete measures, practical effect to it and to insure actual fulfillment of its main ingredients. And by keeping high educational standards, the least we should expect of ourselves is continual striving for improvement and excellence.

This should also be the educational prospect of this Greek Orthodox Institution of Higher Learning in America, which, after forty years of difficult but rewarding life, enters into an era of greater accomplishments under a new, able and farsighted lead-

ership. It should, for instance, by its example and achievements, take an active part in the raging discussion of "what does it mean to be an educated person today?" The massive proliferation of knowledge and the doubt cast on established authority have made this difficult to answer. Traditional notions about classical and liberal education have become inadequate if not obsolete, in the minds of many people. Yet the fundamental values and cultural image of any society are closely bound up with its concepts of being educated. "Is there then some new model to guide education in the industrialized world? . . . Is there still room for humanistic and religious education in an age of technical specialization?"

Our answer is, or should be, Greek culture, Christianity, and scientific progress do not really clash against each other, but can and should coordinate and harmonize their strengths and qualities and specific properties for the molding of the truly educated man, who "above all is open to new knowledge and able to advance it." Thus one may readily agree with Mortimer Adler, who lately said: "An educated person is a human being who, given the tools of learning, goes on to the fullest possible development of his potential, both mental and moral."

This is an admittance that, once again, we are returning to the ideal of Greek *παιδεία*, to the ideal of creating a man, *καλός καγαθός*, a beautiful and good man, a whole, not fragmented human being.

It is certainly high time to listen to that constructive projection of Greek culture into this ailing modern world of ours.

NOTES

Lecture given in the Malotis Cultural Center on the celebration of the Greek Letters Week by the Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology.

1. Isocrates, *Nicocles* 70.

2. For Isocrates' educational ideas see my essay "The Orator: Isocrates" in P. Nash, A.M. Kazamias and H.J. Perkinson, *The Educated Man: Studies in the History of Educational Thought* (New York, 1965), pp. 54-76.

3. N.G. Politis, *Ἐκλογαὶ ἀπὸ τὰ Τραγούδια τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Λαοῦ* (Selections from the Songs of Greek People) (Athens, 1925), p. 262.

4. Cf. the awarding of the Nobel Prize for Literature to the Greek poets George Seferis (1963) and Odysseus Elytis (1979), and the world-wide recognition of Nikos Kazantzakis.

5. Kostis Palamas, *Ἀπαντα* (Collected Works) (Athens, 1964), 5, p. 235.

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RESURRECTION, ASCENSION, AND THE GIVING OF THE SPIRIT

The resurrection of Christ is an event which throws its light upon all that precedes and follows it. What happened after the resurrection is the consequence of it. The resurrection is never presented in the New Testament isolated from what followed. The victory of Christ over death gives meaning and unity to all that comes after. As the cross cannot be separated from the resurrection, neither can the exaltation of Christ and Pentecost be divided from Christ's victory over death.

In this paper we shall examine the links between the resurrection, the ascension, and the gift of the Spirit. We shall take as the basis for our discussion John 20.19-23 and Acts 1-2. These descriptions seemingly express two different points of view regarding the relationship between these events in the life of Christ and the life of the church. John tells us that the Spirit was given on the day of Resurrection, whereas according to Luke, the Spirit descended upon the Christian community in Jerusalem fifty days after the Resurrection and ten days after the Ascension. Do these two accounts describe the same event differently, or are they recounting two different events, two distinct gifts of the Spirit, that occurred at two different times and places? When did the ascension take place, according to these two evangelists, and what was its meaning? And finally, in spite of these differences in presentation, can we discern some fundamental agreement that underlies these descriptions of the events which follow the resurrection? These questions will be our major concern in this paper.

In the Gospel of Saint John we find accounts of the resurrection, the post-resurrection appearances and the giving of the Spirit, but there is no separate record of the ascension. According to this gospel, on the first day of the week the tomb was found empty, with only the linen cloths and the napkin lying in it. The risen Christ appeared on the same day to Mary Magdalene, whom he sent to his disciples with the message: "I am ascending to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God" (Jn. 20.17), and on the evening of that same day, that is the day of the resurrection, he came to the eleven and gave them the Holy Spirit (Jn. 20.19-23). All these events happened in one single day. The community of

the eleven received the Holy Spirit, which was given because Jesus was now glorified (Jn. 7.37-39). The outpouring of the Spirit follows as a result of the glorification of Christ, that is after his crucifixion, resurrection and ascension. During his public ministry Jesus possessed divine glory: "we beheld his glory" (Jn. 1.14), yet the Son of Man must be lifted up (3.14), and when he is lifted up on the cross, then the people will know who he is; they will know that "I am he" (8.28), the divine being. His death on the cross and the revelation that accompanied it, together with the resurrection and the ascension, is the fulfillment of the incarnation. "Now is the Son of Man glorified," it is the hour of His passion, "and in him God is glorified," and there is a future aspect of his glory: "If God is glorified in him God will also glorify him in himself" (Jn. 13.31-32). At the hour of agony he asks the Father to save him from "this hour." Then he immediately adds: "'No, for this purpose I have come to this hour. Father, glorify thy name.'" Then a voice came from heaven: "I have glorified it, and I will glorify it again" (Jn. 12.27-28). In the high priestly prayer, Jesus addressed his Father: "Father, glorify thou me in thy own presence with the glory which I had with thee before the world was made" (17.5). Only by entering into the glory can the risen Christ bestow the Spirit. The Spirit will be given when his journey is ended and his goal reached.

In Saint John there is no account of a "visible" ascension as is described in Acts, but there is an "invisible" ascent into glory. The Spirit is given only upon his return to the Father, that is, upon his exaltation or ascension (Jn. 15.26).

The fourth evangelist, together with some other New Testament authors, has a unifying view of the mystery of Christ. Any one moment that belongs to this mystery merges easily with another. The cross is the 'first step' toward future glory; it is the cross of glorification and the revelation of the heavenly glory, inseparable from the resurrection. In one sense the resurrection and exaltation are indivisible. Yet Saint John records the words of the risen Christ: "I am ascending to my Father" (Jn. 20.17). This implies that they are distinct moments in the mystery. Saint Paul, in Philippians 2.8ff. and Ephesians 1.20, for example, as well as the author of Revelation (5.11-13) and the author of Hebrews (1.3-5) also do not make any attempt to separate the resurrection from the exaltation. They belong together. Yet they suggest certain distinctions between the resurrection and its fruits. With the resurrection Christ conquered death; with his ascension he rose to be "at the right hand of God," sharing in the glory and power to rule with the Father

over all things. Saint Matthew also does not differentiate between the resurrection and the exaltation. In his gospel the exaltation is not pictured as something separated in time from the resurrection. The risen Christ, to whom all power had been given, had also exercised his power during his public ministry. He performed many mighty works or miracles, but now he sends his disciples into a universal mission (Matt. 28.18-20). No doubt Saint Matthew is describing here the resurrected and exalted, ascended Son Of Man.¹ Even if the Spirit is not mentioned as being given, it is implied in the record of the commission of Christ to his disciples: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (28.19). For there is no baptism without the gift of the Spirit.

The early Church in its worship held this unified view of the glorification of Christ. The Pre-Nicene church did not celebrate the ascension as a separate feast. In this early period the whole pascal season of fifty days was probably an undivided celebration without special emphasis on the ascension. The mystery of salvation was celebrated in the Church as one whole. It was one mystery with several remembrances, of which the ascension was one. The first evidence of the ascension as a distinct feast comes from the church of Jerusalem, which celebrated this event "on Whitsunday at noon on the Mount of Olives."² Since the fourth century the Church has been celebrating the day of ascension as a separate feast. The first homilies delivered on the ascension come from Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Gregory of Nyssa. In contrast, we have allusions to Pentecost as a distinct Christian festival already in the first century. Saint Paul, for instance, "was hastening to be at Jerusalem, if possible, on the day of Pentecost" (Acts 20.16). With whom did the apostle want to celebrate the feast if not with the Christian community in the holy city, where the event of Christian Pentecost had occurred?

For a seemingly contrasting account of the ascension and the descent of the Holy Spirit, we shall now turn to the narratives of Saint Luke.

In the writings of Saint Luke we find two accounts of the ascension, and in both, the ascension is separated from the resurrection. They are depicted as two distinct eschatological events. His first record of the ascension is given in Luke 24.50-53. At the very end of his gospel, Saint Luke narrates that the risen Christ led the apostles from Jerusalem as far as Bethany and "lifting up his hands he blessed them, and was carried into heaven. And they

returned to Jerusalem with great joy, and were continually in the temple blessing God.” In chapter 24, the account of the finding of the empty tomb, the meaning of which was interpreted by two angels, is followed by the appearance of Christ to two men on the road to Emmaus (24.13-35), then by the appearance to the eleven (24.36-49), and at the end comes the ascension. Although all these events are presented as happening on Easter day, yet there is no doubt that Saint Luke draws a clean line between the resurrection and the ascension. At the moment of his ascension, Christ looks to his disciples like a priest giving a blessing. He blesses them as one who has overcome death, and not as Moses blessed the Israelites before his death (Dt. 33). They are full of joy, for this priest is the Savior who will be present with them until the end of the ages. He takes leave of them, but it is not a final leavetaking. The ascension in this gospel is presented as the climax of the ministry of Christ.

The second account of the ascension is given in the book of Acts 1.9-11, which was also written by Saint Luke. After the risen Christ had appeared to his disciples for forty days (Acts 1.3), they were granted the privilege of becoming eyewitnesses of his ascension. It is probable that the eleven were not the sole witnesses of the ascension according to Acts (see 1:21f), and that there were women in this community (Acts 1.14). They all looked on as Christ ascended to heaven, “and a cloud took him out of their sight.” At the moment “While they were gazing into heaven as he went, behold two men stood by them in white robes, and said, ‘Men of Galilee, why do you stand looking into heaven? This Jesus, who was taken up from you into heaven, will come in the same way as you saw him go into heaven.’” This is a simple straightforward account. There is no attempt to embellish it nor to describe the sensations of those who were looking on. It is worth noting that the expression “into heaven” is used in this short narrative no less than four times³ This is the central point of the ascension account. Yet the disciples and other eyewitnesses did not see the actual entry of Christ into heaven, for “a cloud took him out of their sight.” Therefore they cannot give a description of Christ’s entry into heaven. The same is true of Jesus’ resurrection: no one could have witnessed God’s act of raising him from the tomb. There is, however, an account describing the moment of the resurrection and the ascension of Christ, but it appears in the apocryphal gospel of Peter. This is an embroidered and sentimental account which describes fully the reaction of the onlookers. All these

elements are missing in the New Testament narratives of these events.

We also note two men in white robes, which is really a description of angels, as was also given in Luke 24.4 "two men in dazzling apparel." In the resurrection narrative their role is to interpret what happened, and likewise here they convey a message: that the ascension of Christ points to the Second Coming, or *parousia*. After the ascension, the witnesses of the event returned to Jerusalem to devote themselves to prayer (Acts 1.14).

In his gospel Saint Luke depicts the ascension as the fulfillment of the life of Christ. With his ascension, the final goal of his public ministry is reached. In Acts, on the other hand, the same event is presented also as the beginning of the life of the Church.⁴ As a historian Saint Luke gives us events in an orderly historical way.⁵ It was only in Acts that he mentions the period of forty days which clearly separates the ascension from the resurrection. This intervening period of forty days, which is without parallel in any of the gospels, is of a typological character. The number forty is a biblical number (Ps. 95. 10, Ex. 34. 28, Kg. 19. 8). The number forty in these Old Testament passages indicates a long period or a great distance, but in the book of Acts this round number of forty days should be understood as signifying a limited length of time. After his passion Christ appeared to the apostles "during forty days, and speaking of the Kingdom of God" (Acts 1. 3), and Paul is recorded as saying at Antioch of Pisidia during his first missionary journey that God raised Jesus from the dead; "and for many days" he appeared to those who came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem" (Acts 13.30-31).

In his two accounts, Luke ascribes two different moments in time to the ascension. These two different accounts are not in agreement as to the "when" of the ascension. It is no wonder that some early Christian scribes tried to harmonize these two accounts by simply omitting in some of their manuscripts from Luke 24.51 the phrase "and was carried up into heaven." But the textual critics give us ample evidence that these words were indeed in the original text of Saint Luke's gospel and that they should be taken as authentic. Saint Jerome draws a helpful distinction between Christ's ascent to the Father on the day of the resurrection, which was "invisible," and the ascension forty days later, which was "visible." This can not be profitably applied to justify the two Lucan accounts, for the simple reason that both of these narratives are concerned with the "visible" ascension. In both of them the

ascension is presented in a very concrete manner. They are not different descriptions of the same event. We may interpret the account in Acts as recounting the end of Christ's post-resurrection appearances. What is being described here, as Peirre Benoit has suggested is the "last departure" of the already ascended Christ.⁶ After his resurrection he revealed himself to individuals as well as to groups engaged in their daily activities, and again suddenly withdrew on several occasions. Anytime the risen Christ appeared to his disciples and friends he had come from the Father, from the final "end" of the journey. With his appearances he laid the foundation of the Church. The leavetaking described in Acts 1.9-11 is the ascension which the Church celebrated forty days after Easter. And this ascension should be distinguished from Christ's ascent to the Father at the time of his glorification. This ascension, which the Church relives annually, has its own historical and theologically distinctive character. It is the end of the privileged period of the appearances of the Risen Christ, as a last parting, and as the day of man's exaltation. On this day, Saint John Chrysostom stresses, "all mankind was restored to God. This day the long warfare, the prolonged estrangement, was ended," and "we who were unworthy of earthly dignity now ascend to a heavenly kingdom."

The icon of the Ascension in the Church takes into account both descriptions of the ascension in Saint Luke's writings, and emphasizes its theological meaning. In it Mary, the mother of Christ, is present. She with the disciples represents the Church. The ascended Christ is the head and the Church below represents his body. In the icon he is pictured as blessing his body, the Church, with the right hand, and in the left hand he keeps the book or scroll which is the gospel. This in turn suggests that the ascended Christ still remains the shepherd and the teacher, the source and authority of the Church. With the ascension Christ, the head, is not separated from the body. Where the head is, the body will follow. Christ, as the head of the new humanity, the new Adam, gives life to the body (Col. 2.19; 1.18; Eph. 4.15). Being the head, he is also the saviour of the Church (Eph. 5.27). With his ascension he did not leave his church an orphan in the world. The inspired artist witnesses with his icon to the truth of the ascension. The icon does not only refer to the historical event but brings out the meaning of the ascension for the Church of all ages. The icon also implies that the church waits for the second coming.⁷

With his concrete narratives of the ascension, Saint Luke conveys what is known of the historical event of the ascension and how this

event was understood in primitive Christianity, and at the same time he expresses the faith of the Church to which he belongs. With his description of the ascension as separate from the resurrection, the evangelist underlines that Christ was taken up bodily into heaven. The ascension follows the resurrection of the body.

Christ's entry into glory is the inauguration for the life of the Church, and at the same time this event anticipates Pentecost (Jn. 16.7). With Christ's ascension, in the words of Saint John Chrysostom, "our nature ascended" to heaven and on Pentecost the Holy Spirit "descended on to our nature." We also have two accounts of the giving of the Holy Spirit, one in Saint John's gospel and the other in the book of Acts.

Both Saint Luke and Saint John are in agreement that the Spirit is given only after Jesus ascended to the Father. What is the meaning of the gift of the Holy Spirit in the life of the Church? Saint John tells us that on the evening of the first day of the week, that is the day of resurrection, Jesus came to his disciples, "breathed on them" and said to them: "Receive the Holy Spirit" (Jn. 20.22). This very term "to breathe" is used in the translation of the Seventy, translating the second creation story of Genesis 2.7: "then the Lord God formed man of dust from the ground, and *breathed* into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living being," as well as Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones (37.9): "breathe upon these slain, that they may live." In Genesis 2.7 and Ezekiel 37.9, breathing is a sign of the creation of life. With the resurrection Christ becomes the source of a new creation that completes and transcends the first. According to Saint Paul, he is the life-giving Spirit. Those to whom he appeared and upon whom he bestowed the Spirit are his immediate disciples. The petition of the high-priestly prayer: "Sanctify them in the truth . . . for their sake I consecrate myself, that they also may be consecrated in truth" (Jn. 17.17-19), is now fulfilled in the giving of the Spirit. For "to sanctify" or "to consecrate" or "to make holy" implies the sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit. During his public ministry Jesus "appointed twelve"; he really "made" them (Mk. 3.14), and now on the day of his resurrection he "consecrated" them "in truth." They are set apart for "worship in spirit and truth" (Jn. 4.23-24). By the power of the Spirit they are newly born, baptized, to live according to the truth revealed in Jesus. "Christ's breathing on the Apostles to give them the Holy Spirit and the power to remit sins (Jn. 20.22-23) was, as it were, their ordination confirmed at Pentecost."⁸ For the power of binding and loosening, or retaining and

forgiving, is a priestly power. What happened on this first evening of the day of resurrection is a real giving of the first fruits of the Spirit, according to Saint Cyril of Alexandria.⁹ We would not be wrong, writes Saint John Chrysostom, in asserting that the apostles received "spiritual power and grace; not so as to raise the dead, or to work miracles, but so as to remit sins."¹⁰

Above all, Jesus's promise to send the disciples the Holy Spirit, which he made during his farewell discourse, is fulfilled on the day of his resurrection. There are five passages in John 14-16 that contain the promise of the coming of the Spirit in the very near future. First of all, the presence of the Spirit will be by indwelling. This is implied in Jesus's breathing on the eleven (Jn. 20.22). The Spirit is invisible to physical eyes but the fruits of the Spirit (Gal. 5.22f) witness to his presence. Through indwelling, the Spirit will remain with the apostles forever (14.16), and will guide them "into all the truth" (16.13), not a new truth, but into the perfect understanding of Christ and his gospel. The role of the Spirit is not to add anything to the riches of Christ but to enlighten, manifest and interpret what is already given with the incarnation, death and resurrection of Jesus. The Spirit is the interpreter of his words and deeds. The Spirit not only enables them to remember what Christ said but also to understand what he meant. He is the teacher and the expositor of the Gospel (14.26). The Spirit that is given to the apostles reveals Christ to them without replacing him. With the Spirit Christ is present, and the Father is present also (14.23). The Spirit is given on the day of Christ's resurrection in order to consecrate, enlighten, and purify the disciples. With Christ's entry into glory on the resurrection day, the Spirit is given for the disciples' inner transformation. The Spirit is given to "create" them as the witnesses of his resurrection.

We have another description of the giving of the Spirit in Saint Luke's Acts 2.1-13. Ten days after the ascension, on the day of Pentecost, the entire Christian community of about a hundred and twenty (Acts 1.15), not simply the eleven as on the day of Easter, experienced the descent of the Spirit. "They were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance" (Acts 2.4). The apostles spoke not "in tongues," but in "other tongues," that is, in the different languages of "devout men" (Acts 2.6,8,11).¹¹ Like some other charismatic characteristics of the Pentecost event, they bear no similarity to anything that accompanied the post-resurrection appearances nor with the giving of the Spirit described in John 20.22-23.

The “tongues as of fire” that appeared to the disciples, together with the experience of the apostles speaking foreign tongues, belong to the charisma and character of Pentecost only. The meaning and universality of Pentecost comes out more clearly when this event is compared with God’s revelation on Mount Sinai, particularly with the image of the Lord descending upon Sinai in fire (Ex. 19.18) as well as with the Rabbinic tradition that grew around the Mount of Revelation, where the voice of God supposedly divided into seventy voices, that is into the tongues of all peoples. The “tongues as of fire” were distributed before they rested on each of the disciples (Acts 2.3). This is like the Sinai theophany, a sign of a transcendent world.

At the beginning of the Christian period, Pentecost as one of the major Jewish feasts was the annual celebration of the giving of the law on Mount Sinai. It was the feast of the renewal of the covenant and also in the Jewish tradition the closing feast of the Passover season. The disciples who left Jerusalem for Galilee after the resurrection returned to the holy city to celebrate the last feast of the Passover cycle. They were not prepared for the event that is known to us as the first Christian Pentecost. If they expected that anything might happen in Jerusalem fifty days after the resurrection of Christ, who had appeared to them both in Jerusalem and Galilee, then it would have been a vision in terms of “the Son of Man coming in clouds of glory (Mk. 9.1, 14.62, Acts 7.56), but they experienced the coming of the divine power in a completely unexpected manner.¹² The gift of the Spirit was given to all present. And on that day a new community, the Church, came into existence. During his public ministry Jesus was “full of the Holy Spirit” (Lk. 4.1), but only with his glorification would the Spirit be given (Jn. 7.39), and on the day of Pentecost it is the risen and glorified Christ who sends out the Spirit and his Church into its world wide mission.

The Spirit given at Pentecost testifies that Jesus is really risen and that personal relations with the Risen Christ is possible for all. Pentecost is intrinsically linked with the resurrection of Jesus and the incarnation as well. And if the resurrection of Christ is the fulfillment of his incarnation, then “Pentecost forms the aim and completion of the incarnation: in the words of Saint Athanasios, ‘Logos took flesh that we might receive the Spirit.’”¹³ Saint Peter in his sermon on the first Pentecost brings out the unity of Jesus’ resurrection with Pentecost:

Jesus of Nazareth, a man attested to you by God with mighty

works and wonders and signs which God did through him in your midst . . . This Jesus God raised up, and of that we are all witnesses. Being therefore exalted at the right hand of God, and having received from the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he has poured out this which you see and hear (Acts 2.22, 32-33). The testimony of Pentecost to the resurrection of Christ coincides with the testimony of the empty tomb and the post-resurrection appearances. God raised him up "because it was not possible for him to be held by death" (Acts 2.24), then "for many days he appeared to those who came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are now his witnesses to the people" (Acts 13.31), and at the concluding days of Passover, at Pentecost, by God's mighty act all the life of the Church, inspired and guided by the Spirit, bear witness to the resurrection. Because of Pentecost the resurrection of Christ is a present reality and not only an event that belongs to the past. "We do not say merely, 'Christ rose,'" writes Kallistos Ware, "but 'Christ is risen'—He lives *now*, for me and in me. This immediacy and personal directness in our relationship with Jesus is precisely the work of the Spirit."¹⁴ Any of the miracles that happened in the life of the Church throughout the centuries, any transformation of human life, are testimony to the resurrection of Christ that continues due to Pentecost. God constantly creates new things and glorifies Himself in his saints to make known that the "holy one" did not see "corruption" (Acts 2.27). The resurrection of Christ is the first and decisive moment in the life of the Church, the moment which in the fourth gospel is called "the last day," (6.39, 40, 44). The Church lives by and moves toward the resurrection through the power of the Spirit. The vision of the final consummation given in the book of Revelation: "Behold, the dwelling of God is with men. He will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself will be with them" (21.3) may be understood only in the context of the worshipping and witnessing Christian community, for which the incarnation, "the Word became flesh and dwelt among us" (Jn. 1.14), is the beginning and his resurrection the end that is already present in history. Pentecost makes it all present and gives meaning to time and history.

The giving of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost is neither the same event nor the same act of giving as the breathing of the Spirit which was described on the evening of Easter. The Spirit given at Pentecost was more than the "spiritual power and grace" of the apostles' "ordination" or "consecration"; it included all spiritual gifts, which were given to the whole body of Christ. They are two

distinct moments of giving on two different times of one and the same Spirit. At Pentecost the outpouring of the Spirit was given for the fulfillment of the new life that is opened with Easter and the breathing of the spirit of the Risen Christ on this day. And when the Church enters into the last day, then this day will be the consummation of Pentecost.

The Spirit of Pentecost was given for outward missions for the proclamation of the gospel. The decoration of the church on the feast of Pentecost with green branches symbolizes and expresses this renewing and lifegiving power of the Spirit. With Pentecost the Church starts on her road of service and pilgrimage throughout the centuries to enter the Kingdom. It is of significance that the Sundays that follow the feast of Pentecost are designated on the Church calendar as the first, second, third, etc., after Pentecost, and this means that here the Church receives its meaning and point of orientation. Everything is seen and evaluated in the light that comes from the period of pascal joy.

The giving of the Spirit in John 20.22-23 is not followed by a public, universal mission. The apostles returned to their homes in Galilee, where they found themselves involved in their previous occupations (John 21.1-3). The public preaching started with Pentecost. With the first giving of the Spirit, recorded in John, the messianic community was united with the glorified body of Christ. The apostles were changed; the new community was created by the breath of the Spirit of the Risen Christ. In a sense the Church was born with her ministers. The community was founded with the giving of the Spirit on the first Easter evening, yet only on Pentecost was the Church confirmed and given the fullness of the spiritual gifts to expand.¹⁵

The New Testament writers fully agree that the gift of the Spirit is the outcome of the resurrection. It is the Risen and Ascended Christ who gives or sends the Spirit. The sequence of events that belong to the exaltation of Christ are proleptically given in John 7.39: "for as yet the Spirit had not been given, because Jesus was not yet glorified." The sequence of events in the life of Christ—his death, resurrection and ascension—is the way by which he was glorified. He upon whom the Spirit had remained during his public ministry (John 1.32f) bestowed the Spirit on the day of resurrection as well as on the day of Pentecost.

The giving of the Spirit is an event in the history of the primitive church. It is not the product of purely theological thinking. It took place in Jerusalem, and together with the death and the

resurrection the event of Pentecost secured the indisputable place of primacy of honor for the holy city as the center of Christian mission. With the event of Pentecost, the time has come for the struggle for the salvation of mankind.

NOTES

1 Among modern interpreters, see John P. Meier, *The Vision of Matthew (Christ Church and Morality in the First Gospel)* (New York, 1978), for an interesting discussion of Matthew 28:18-20.

2 See P. A. van Stempvoort, "An Interpretation of the Ascension in Luke and Acts," *New Testament Studies* 5 (1958/59), p. 31.

3 For a detailed exegesis of Acts 1:9-11, see Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Philadelphia, 1971).

4 C. K. Barrett, *Luke the Historian in Recent Study* (Philadelphia, 1970), p. 56.

5 S. G. Wilson, "The Ascension: A Critique and an Interpretation," *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 59 (1968), p. 272.

6 P. Benoit, "L'Ascension," *Revue Biblique*, 1949, pp. 161-203. This very important article is available in the English translation of the author's New Testament essays *Jesus and the Gospel*, pp. 209-153.

7 Leonid Ouspensky and Vladimir Lossky, *The Meaning of Icons* (Boston, 1956), pp. 196-8.

8 Sergius Boulgakoff, "The Hierarchy and the Sacraments," in *The Ministry and the Sacraments*, Roderic Dunkerley, ed. (New York, 1937), pp. 97f.

9 See Maurice F. Wiles, *The Spiritual Gospel (The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel in the Early Church)* (Cambridge, 1960), p. 31.

10 *Homilies on Saint John*, vol. 14, *Post Nicene Fathers*, p. 325. In B. F. Westcott's *Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint John* (London, 1882), p. 294, the author turns our attention to the absence of the definite article before "Holy Spirit" in John 20:22 and takes "receive the Holy Spirit" to mean "receive a gift of the Holy Spirit, a spiritual power."

11 Jacques Dupont, *The Salvation of the Gentiles (Studies in the Acts of the Apostles)* (New York, 1979), p. 50.

12 James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit* (Philadelphia, 1975), p. 148.

13 Quoted in Kallistos Ware, *The Orthodox Way* (Crestwood, N. Y., 1979), p. 186.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 125.

15 F. X. Durrwell, *The Resurrection: A Biblical Study* (New York, 1960), p. 186.

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**SAINT GREGORY PALAMAS' THE DECALOGUE
OF THE LAW ACCORDING TO CHRIST, THAT IS,
THE NEW COVENANT**

Saint Gregory Palamas (1296-1359) articulated and defended Orthodox Christianity's experiential knowledge of God, the Holy Trinity. He counteracted the rationalism of Barlaam, a scholar and philosopher who went to Constantinople from Southern Italy. Initially, Barlaam acted as a spokesman for the Eastern Orthodox Church in dialogues with two Dominican theologians sent by the Pope to the East to work for the reunion of the Churches (1333-1334). Barlaam, misunderstanding the apophaticism of Dionysios the Areopagite, attempted to assert his theory about the absolute unknowability of the relationships between the Divine Persons of the Holy Trinity. According to Barlaam's thought, the West's contention that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and from the Son (*filioque*), and the East's contention that Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father only are presumptions, because relationships within the Divinity transcend human knowledge. Barlaam developed his theory particularly in contradistinction to Western Thomistic scholasticism which claimed to prove the double procession of the Holy Spirit. He thus hoped to create a metaphysical basis for the reunion of the divided Eastern and Western Churches.

While Barlaam supported the intellectual rationalism of Western scholasticism, Saint Gregory Palamas explained to him another type of knowledge of God. This knowledge is distinct from intellectual knowledge, but not opposed to it. It is the result of the immediate experience of God, given to man by God by virtue of the Incarnation. While God's essence is indeed transcendent, He communicates his energies to mankind.

Barlaam was intrigued. Seeking to learn about the vision of Divine Light articulated by Palamas, Barlaam visited monastic communities in Constantinople and Thessalonike. There, the Christian monks not only claimed an immediate knowledge of God's energies, but they also claimed an immediate vision of the Divine Light. Their prayer life included a continual calling to the person of Jesus Christ by means of the 'Jesus Prayer,' which was often combined with psycho-physical exercises which were practiced in quiet and stillness. Since the Greek word for quiet and still-

ness is *hesychia*, this method of prayer came to be known as "hesychasm."

Barlaam was shocked. The immediate contact with God and the direct vision of God's Divine Light that the monks claimed, seemed to him to be a result of their physical and psychological exercises. For this reason, he initiated a polemic against the hesychasts.

Again Saint Gregory Palamas responded. He wrote his *Triads in Defense of the Holy Hesychasts* in which, among other things, he maintained both God's absolute transcendence and his total immanence. He clarified this antinomy by making the distinction between the transcendent Divine Essence and the immanent, uncreated Divine Energies. Thus he defended the hesychast's immediate vision and knowledge of the energies of God. God, he explained, communicates himself and reveals himself in his Energies.

Several synods (1341, 1347, 1351) sanctioned the doctrines of Saint Gregory Palamas, and in 1368 the decision of the 'Palamite' Synods were introduced into the *Synodikon* of Orthodoxy, to be read annually in all Orthodox churches on the first Sunday of the Great Lent.

The great writings of Saint Gregory Palamas are an articulation of fundamental themes of Orthodox theology. When, however, he became archbishop of Thessalonike in 1347, Palamas became concerned with the various pastoral problems of the everyday life of his flock, and as a good shepherd he addressed these problems in his homilies. During this time, he composed the *Decalogue of the Law According to Christ, that is, the New Covenant*.

The *Decalogue* is his summary of Christian ethics in which the Ten Commandments are interpreted in light of the New Testament. It begins and ends with reference to the Triune God. To love God is the first commandment, because love of God is the source of the fulfillment of all other commandments. The person who loves God will keep the commandments of his Beloved. But keeping of the commandments *per se* is not the final goal of this ethic. Its goal is to share as much as possible in the life of the Beloved. Observance of the commandments leads to passionlessness (*apatheia*) where, in stillness and quiet and with continual heartfelt prayer, the Christian may enter into an immediate experience of the Triune God, as the Holy Trinity communicates its existence to him.

The text of the *Decalogue* by Saint Gregory Palamas, presented below in English translation, is found in the *Philokalia* (Athens: Astir, 1961), vol. 4, pp. 16-22 and in PG 150. 1089-1101.

THE DECALOGUE OF THE LAW ACCORDING TO CHRIST, THAT IS, THE NEW COVENANT

The Lord God is one, known in Father and in Son and in Holy Spirit: the Father unbegotten, the Son begotten without beginning timelessly and passionlessly as Word, who assumed our nature, anointed it, and was called Christ, and the Holy Spirit, also from the Father, not begotten but coming forth by procession. This only is God, and this is true God: the Lord, one in a Triad of hypostases, not divided in nature, will, glory, power, energy, nor in any characteristic of divinity. He alone shall you love, and he alone shall you worship with all your mind and all your heart and all your strength; and his sayings and his commandments will be in your heart to do them, to meditate on them, to speak by them, always, at rest, at work, asleep, risen. You will remember the Lord your God always, and you will fear him only; and you will not forget him nor his commandments. For thus he will give you strength to do his will. Seek nothing other than to fear him, to love him, and to walk in all his ways. This is your boast, and this is your God. Do not heed the impassivity and invisibility of celestial angels, nor the very devilry of the fallen one, nor sophistry nor acuity nor ingenuity, and think that any of them is equal in honor to God. Do not look at the grandeur of heaven nor the variety of its movements, the radiance of the sun, the glow of the moon, the brightness of the stars, the lightness of the air, the fecundity of the earth, and deify any of them. All are servants and creations of the only God; coming into being out on nothing by his word. "For he spoke and they came into being; he commanded and they were created." You will glorify him as God and him only, the King and Creator of all; and to him you will cleave and to him you will turn from your offenses known and unknown, day and night. For he is compassionate and merciful and slow to anger and plenteous in mercy, who does good eternally. To those who respect and worship him, and who love and keep his commands, he promises and gives the heavenly kingdom, and perpetual and painless life, and life immortal, and unsetting light to enjoy. But God is also jealous, and he is a just judge and a fearsome avenger, who brings those who do not respect him and those who do not trust him and those who transgress his commands, to hell everlasting, to fire inextinguishable, pain unrelenting, grief inconsolable, to a place dark and afflicted, a cloak of gloom, to a pitiful gnashing of teeth, to venomous sleepless worms

that he prepared for the first evil rebel and for all those gone astray under him, who follow him and transgress their creator, in deed and in word and in thought.

You will not make any likeness of anything in heaven above or on the earth below or in the waters, to worship them nor to glorify them as gods. All things are creations of the only God who in the last days assumed flesh from a virginal womb and was seen on earth; who associated with men, and suffered for mankind's salvation; who died and arose, went up into heaven with a body, and sat at the right hand of the greatness in the highest. And he shall come again with his body in glory to judge the living and the dead. Therefore, you will make an icon of the Incarnated from love for the incarnation, and through it you will remember and venerate the incarnation; in this way bringing your mind up to that venerable body of the Savior sitting at the right hand of the Father in heaven. Likewise, you will make and venerate figures of the saints, not as gods (this is forbidden), but on account of the image's relationship and disposition to the saints, and of the exceeding honor the mind offers up to the saints through the icons. As Moses made the images of the Cherubim within the sanctuary, and as the Holy of holies was a figure of the supercelestial, and as the holy cosmic [arrangement] conveyed an image of the whole cosmos, Moses called these things holy, not glorifying the creations, but glorifying God the cosmic creator through them. And you: do not deify the icons of Christ and of the saints, but through them venerate him who first-of-all created us according to his own image, and who later through an ineffable love for mankind was pleased to reassume his own image according to ours, and who according to that image became circumscribed. You will venerate not only the divine image, but also the figure of his cross, for it is a great sign of Christ's triumph over the devil and over every adverse power. Wherefore, they shudder and flee, seeing this figure. This figure was glorified by the prophets even before the prototype came into being, and it worked great wonders; and even at the second parousia when he who was hung upon it comes to judge the living and the dead, he will come with this great and awesome sign with power and great glory. So, glorify it now, so that boldly you might provide for that time and be glorified too. And you will venerate the icons of the saints as icons of those crucified together with the Lord, impressing yourself with the cross and remembering a communion with the passion of Christ effected in the saints. Likewise, you will also venerate their holy reliquaries as well as their relics; for these are not devoid of

God's grace, just as the venerable body of Christ was not devoid of divinity during the death that was life-bestowing. By doing this and glorifying those who glorified God (those who were shown through works to be perfect in love of God), you will be glorified with them by God, and with David you will chant: "God said to me, 'Greatly have your friends been honored.'"

"Do not take the Lord's name in vain," by swearing falsely due to something mundane or due to human fear or shame or personal gain. Forswearing is a denial of God. For this reason you will not take oaths at all, but you will avoid oaths altogether, since forswearing comes of oath-taking and reckons the false-witness among the lawless and alienates him from the things of God. By being truthful in all your words, you will provide the assurance of an oath. If ever you should happen to submit yourself to an oath, it is deprecating. If on the one hand you swore about something that agrees with divine law, you will perform it as lawful. You will claim the responsibility yourself for all that you swore; while by almsgiving, by prayers, by grief, and by afflicting of body you propitiate Christ who said, "You will not swear." If on the other hand you swore about something that is unlawful, then watch that you do not fulfill that which is contrary to the law on account of the oath, so that you should not be reckoned with Herod the prophet-killer. While breaking the unlawful oath, set before yourself the condition of never taking an oath again, and propitiate yourself to God using the aforementioned remedies with tears.

One day of the week you will refrain from all mundane work—a day which is even called the Lord's Day (*Kyriake*), because it is dedicated to the Lord, who rose from the dead on that day, who showed forth and pledged the common resurrection. Thus you will keep it holy, and you will not make any provision for livelihood unless it is necessary. And you will provide every comfort to those under you and to those with you, so that together you might glorify him who acquired us by his own death and who was resurrected and who resurrected our nature. And you will remember the age-to-come; and you will meditate on every commandment and justification (*dikaioma*) of the Lord; and you will examine yourself lest you will correct yourself in all things. On that day you will adhere to the temple of God, and you will remain in the synaxes in the temple. In sincere faith and an uncondemning conscience, you will partake of the holy body and blood of Christ, and you will start a most scrupulous life afresh; you will renew yourself and prepare yourself to receive the good things of the future ages.

On the Lord's Day so as to draw nigh to him, you will leave everything undone except the most necessary things without which it is impossible to live. Thus having God as a place of retreat, do not be moved. Do not kindle the fire of passions, neither lift up the burden of sin. And thus you will keep the Sabbath day holy by observing this sabbatical from evil. On the Lord's Day, you will gather for the established great feasts doing these things and desisting from those.

"Honor your father and your mother." Through them God brought you into life, and after God they are the causes of your being. Therefore you will honor and love them after God, if love for them contributes to love for God; if it does not, then flee from them immediately. Should they be heterodox and an impediment to you and moreover to the true and saving faith, then you will not only flee, but you will hate them too, and not only them but all of your kin, and all of your friends, and all of your contacts, and all your associations and your longing for them, and also your whole combine and the inclination toward passions that comes therefrom. "For whoever does not hate his father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters and above all his own soul, and does not take up his cross and follow me is not worthy of me," said Christ. So be it towards your carnal father and friends and brethren. You will honor and love those who belong to the household of faith who do not impede salvation. Since this is so regarding your father according to the flesh, even moreso will you honor and love the fathers who beget you according to the spirit. They transformed you from being to well being, and imparted the illumination of knowledge to you, taught you the manifestation of truth, regenerated you through the laver of rebirth, and instilled in you the hope of resurrection and of immortality and of the everlasting kingdom and inheritance. And they made you worthy from being unworthy of the eternal good things; they made you heavenly instead of mundane, eternal instead of temporal, son and heir no longer of man but of the godman Jesus Christ who has bestowed upon you the spirit of adoption, who said, "Call no one father upon the earth, nor teacher; one is your Father and teacher, Christ." Therefore you owe all honor and love to your spiritual fathers, as honor offered up to them is for Christ, and for the All-holy Spirit in whom you received the adoption as son, and for the heavenly Father from whom every paternity both in heaven and on earth is named.

Throughout life you will be quick to have a spiritual father and

to declare to him every sin and every thought, and to receive from him remedy and remission. For it is given to them to bind and loose souls, and whatever they bind on earth will be bound in heaven and whatever they loose on earth will be loosed in heaven. For they have received this grace and power from Christ. Wherefore you will obey them, and you will not contradict them, so that you might not bring destruction to your soul. For if someone contradicts carnal parents about things that are not forbidden by divine law, then what about the one who contradicts his spiritual fathers? Is God's Spirit not driven away from him, and does he not destroy his own soul? So then, consult and obey to the last degree your spiritual fathers, so that you might save your soul and become an inheritor of the eternal, inviolable good things.

"You will not commit adultery," lest instead of being a member of Christ, you should become a member of a whore and be cut off from the divine body and cast into Ghenna. If a priest's daughter should be caught whoring and is lawfully condemned as dishonoring the father, how much more liable to eternal condemnation shall someone be who inflicts such defilement upon the body of Christ. But proceed, you will practice virginity so that you might become entirely of God and through perfect love cling nigh to him, attending constantly to him throughout life and always caring undividedly about the things of the Lord, looking forward to the future life and conducting yourself as an angel of God upon earth. For theirs is virginity, and he who adheres to virginity is like them as far as is possible with body. Moreover and moreso, he is like the Father, begetting in virginity before all ages; and like the virgin, coming forth begotten of the virgin Father in the beginning, in the last days begotten in the flesh of a Virgin Mother; and like the Spirit, not begotten but being sent ineffably by procession out of the only Father. Whoever deliberately prefers true virginity, who keeps soul and body, every sense, word, and thought in virginity, and who adorns himself with virginity, becomes quite like God and is joined in incorrupt nuptials.

If you prefer not to keep virginity, and if you have not committed the keeping of virginity to God, it is allowed for you to take a woman to yourself, to live together with her only, to keep her as your own in sanctity, abstaining from others' women with all your might. You will be able to abstain from them if you refrain from untimely contact with them, if you do not permit lewd speech nor comment, and if you avert your sight from them as far as possible in body and soul, and become accustomed not to gaze curiously

into the charm of faces. "For whoever looks at a woman to lust after her, has already committed adultery with her in his heart." Accordingly, he is unclean to Christ who sees into the heart. From this the wretch is reduced to obscene conduct with the body, and then, I say, with prostitution and with adultery and to all the disgusting things therein. Man is brought down dissolutely even to abnormal sodomy by curiously gazing at the charms of the body. You, therefore, severing those bitter roots from yourself, will not bear deadly fruit. And you will cultivate chastity and in it sanctity without which no one will see the Lord.

"You will not kill," so that you do not forfeit your adoption as a son of the one who brings the dead to life, and become instead, through works, the adopted son of the one who from the beginning brought mankind to death. For murder comes from insult, pride and hatred; and hatred is occasioned by the harm we inflict upon each other, or by insult or by pride. This is why Christ said, "from him who takes away your coat do not withhold even your shirt." And do not hit back at him who hits; do not render insult for insult. Thus you will free both yourself and the persons who treat you badly from the murderous fall. Furthermore, you will have forgiveness of your sins against God. "Forgive and you shall be forgiven." On the other hand, whoever speaks evil or does evil will pay the penalty, eternal punishment. "For whoever says to his brother, 'Fool!' shall be liable to ghenna of fire," said Christ. Then knowing the destiny of evil, attend to the blessedness of meekness in your soul, praising Christ the teacher of virtue and fellow-worker without whom we are not able to do anything good (albeit that we have been taught). If you can not stay free of anger, then reproach yourself angrily, and repent before God and before whom ever hears evil from you or suffers because of you. For whoever repents of sin at the beginning does not come to sin's end. He who is indifferent about little sins will fall through them into greater ones.

"You will not steal," so that he who knows even the hidden things shall not give you over to the punishment due to those who despise him. To the contrary, instead of profiteering for yourself, you will secretly supply the needy, so that you shall enjoy a hundredfold blessings and life eternal in the future age, from God who sees secrets.

"You will not slander," so that you shall not be like the one who in the beginning slandered God to Eve, nor become accursed as he is accursed. To the contrary, unless someone should do harm

to many, you will even cover-up a fellow's fall, so that you shall not be like Ham, but like Shem and Japheth, and shall be blessed.

"You will not desire anything that belongs to your neighbor, neither field nor money nor glory nor anything that belongs to your neighbor." For desire once conceived in the soul gives birth to sin; and sin, once accomplished, brings death. By not desiring what belongs to others, you will also avoid, if you can, claiming things greedily. To the contrary, you will give what belongs to you to whoever asks of you, and you will be as charitable as possible to the needy. And you will not turn away anyone who asks to borrow. Should you find anything lost, you will restore it to its owner even if he is ill disposed towards you. Thus you will reconcile him, too, and you will conquer evil by good as Christ exhorts you. Observing these things with all your might and living by them, you will store up the treasure of piety in your soul and you will please God, and it will be done well unto you by God and by all things that are according to God. And you will become an inheritor of the eternal good that all of us should attain —so be it—by the grace and love for mankind of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ to whom is due all glory, honor, and worship with the Father who is without beginning, and the All-holy and good and life-giving Spirit, now and forever, and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

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SIX DOCUMENTS IN *CODEX ALPHA* OF THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE

Codex Alpha¹ of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople includes six documents² which are known and have been used and commented upon by a number of scholars in the past. Yet no one—to my knowledge at least—has noticed that they present a problem as they stand. In short, there is a discrepancy between the chronology of the documents and that of some of the hierarchs who appear in them as signatories.

This discrepancy has produced a number of inaccuracies and dilemmas for those who have attempted to form accurate hierarchical lists of the various sees of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. This is reason enough, I believe, for a brief examination of this problem.

The documents in question are all copies and as such their dating, which is quite clear in the documents, cannot be compared with the originals for any possible error. Moreover, as far as I know, all who have published or cited the documents have done so from copies.

In addition, the six documents were all written by the same scribe, who also added the names of the various patriarchs and hierarchs who allegedly participated in the decisions contained in them. With the original documents lost and/or inaccessible, the signatories cannot be compared with the copies to determine the actual participants. Finally, it should be noted that all the documents were produced during the tenure of Patriarch Kyrillos I Loukaris.³

Document Number One,⁴ dated 25 February 7130 (1622), Indiction 5, deals with the restoration of the exarchate of the *stavropegion* villages of Pyrgion and Volissos on the island of Chios, their dependancy on the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and the appointment of Archon Michael Kavvakos as patriarchal exarch.

Appearing in the document with Patriarch Kyrillos I Loukaris are Patriarch Kyrillos IV of Antioch (1620-1634) and Theophanes III of Jerusalem (1608-1644), in addition to the following hierarchs: Gregorios of Kaisaria in Kappadokia (Aug. 1605-June 1627, resigned), Neophytos of Heraklia (elected 2 Feb. 1622-before May/June 1635, expelled), Parthenios of Kyzikos (4 Nov.

1620-14 Nov. 1633, cited as dead), Neophytos of Nikomedia (June 1617-4 May 1639, resigned), Ioasaph of Chalkedon (elected May 1623-May 1625, deposed), Parthenios of Adrianople (elected 19 June 1623-1 July 1639, elected Patriarch of Constantinople), Theophanes of Athens (Jan. 1613-9 Dec. 1633, cited as dead), Paisios of Thessalonike (May 1608-Apr. 1609; Sept. 1609-1629), Gabriel of Naupaktos & Arta (1601-8 June 1633, cited as dead), Christophoros of Anchialos (elected ca. 19 June 1623-27 June 1628, elected metropolitan of Philippoupolis), Ioasaph of Prousa (elected May 1605-Aug. 1634, resigned), Ioasaph of Lakedaimonia (June 1617; before 4 Nov. 1620-5 Aug. 1641), Laurentios of Selyvria (elected 29 Apr. 1624-1/20 Feb. 1638, deposed), Anthimos of Didymoteichon (Oct. 1620-1/15 July 1631, resigned), Theophanes of Nauplion & Argos (elected 29 Apr. 1624-Oct. 1654, deposed), Akakios of Mesemvria (elected Jan. 1622-1/22 July 1644, cited as dead), Klemes of Proikonesos (May 1593-July 1626), Theodosios of Media & Sozopolis (elected 1/5 Aug. 1612-29 Oct. 1636, resigned), Meletios of Varna (elected 15 Mar. 1606-?),⁵ Nektarios of Tzia & Thermia (ca. July 1619-10 June 1630, elected metropolitan of Chalkedon), Parthenios of Ainos (Jan. 1622-6 May 1639 or Mar. 1652), Kornelios of Methymna (Mar. 1621-? July 1623), Ignatios of Chios (1617-4 Oct. 1634, resigned), Daniel of Reon (inclusive dates unknown), Melchesedek of Raidesto (4 Nov. 1620-May 1628), Daniel, formerly of Ainos (1613-1621, resigned), Parthenios of Kernitza (1610-7 Jan. 1639, elected metropolitan of Old Patras), Theophanes of Olene Aug. 1622), and Metrophanes of Agathoupolis (4 Nov. 1620-27 July 1628, elected metropolitan of Anchialos).

Document Number Two,⁶ dated March 7130 (1622), Indiction 5, grants *stavropegion* rank to the church of St. George, called Agriadianou, in the province of Ganos & Chora. In addition to the patriarchs cited above, the following hierarchs appear as signatories: Neophytos of Heraklia, Theophanes of Old Patras (ca. Nov. 2 Mar. 1638, resigned), Ioasaph of Lakedaimonia, Kornelios of Methymna, Christophoros of Anchialos, Ioasaph of Philippoupolis (Apr. 1608-28 Mar. 1627, cited as dead), Meletios of Drystra (Dec. 1621-Jan. 1626, deposed), Parthenios of Ainos, Hieremias of Paronaxia (elected 1 Feb. 1622-Apr. 1632, cited as deposed), Klemes of Proikonesos, and Melchesedek of Raidesto.⁷

Document Number Three,⁸ also dated March 7130 (1622), Indiction 5, restores the diocese of Methone & Sarakorone to the metropolis of Old Patras upon the petition of Metropolitan Theophanes. Joining the three patriarchs cited above was Patriarch Ge-

rasimos I of Alexandria (30 Nov. 1620-30 July 1631, died)⁹ in addition to the following hierarchs: Gregorios of Kaisaria, Neophytos of Heraklia, Parthenios of Kyzikos, Neophytos of Nikomedia, Ioasaph of Chalkedon, Porphyrios of Nikaia (Jan. 1613-17 June 1640, resigned), Theophanes of Athens, Paisios of Thessalonike, Ioasaph of Prousa, Parthenios of Adrianople, Gabriel of Naupaktos & Arta, Gregorios of Larissa (elected May 1620-12 Apr. 1645, cited as dead), Theophanes of Old Patras, Ioasaph of Lakadaimonia, Anthimos of Didymoteichon, Christophoros of Anchialos, Akakios of Mesembria, Timotheos of Serres (elected July 1616-26 Apr. 1626, cited as dead), Klemes of Philippi & Drama, Meletios of Drystra, Parthenios of Ainos, Nektarios of Tzia & Thermia, Ioannikios of Ganos & Chora (elected Apr. 1624-ca. Sept. 1636, elected metropolitan of Heraklia), Ignatios of Chios 1617-4 Oct. 1634, resigned), Iakovos of Smyrna (June 1614-Feb. 1638, deposed), Laurentios of Selyvria, Theophanes of Nauplion & Argos, Anthimos of New Patras (elected 29 May 1623-1626, cited as dead), Meletios of Amasia (elected 15 June 1623-July 1626, deposed), Theodosios of Media & Sozopolis, Kornelios of Methymna, Parthenios of Varna, Melchisedek of Raidesto, Klemes of Proikonesos, Sisoos of Kassandria (Apr. 1609-Jan. 1625), Iakovos of Thaumako (?-1623, deposed? restored, ?-May 1624), Dorotheos of Peritheorion & Xanthe (elected 30 May 1623-May 1624), Nektarios of Tzia & Thermia, Daniel of Reon, and Metrophanes of Agathoupolis.

Document Number Four,¹⁰ dated April 7130 (1622), Indiction 5, is a patriarchal and synodal ruling in favor of the priests of the *stavropegion* village of Prasteion who are granted the responsibility and right to draw up marriage contracts. Joining our three patriarchs, cited in the first two documents, are: Parthenios of Kyzikos, Theophanes of Old Patras, Gabriel of Naupaktos & Arta, and Sisoos of Kassandria.¹¹

Document Number Five,¹² dated May 1622, Indiction 5, is a promissory note according to which Metropolitan Ioasaph of Euripos borrowed 75,000 *aspers* from Archon Rube Aaron. In addition to Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris, the following appear as witnesses to Metropolitan Ioasaph's promise to repay the loan upon pain of deposition: Parthenios of Kyzikos, Theophanes of Old Patras, Ioasaph of Euripos (?-June 1622, cited as dead),¹³ Gabriel of Naupaktos & Arta, Theophanes of Athens, Klemes of Proikonesos.¹⁴

Document Number Six,¹⁵ dated August 7130 (1622), Indiction 5, concerns the confirmation of Archon Michael Kavvakos' ap-

pointment as exarch of the *stavropegion* villages of Pyrgion and Volissos. Kavvakos had voluntarily gone to the aid of the Ecumenical Patriarch by lending it money "without any profit." Kavvakos is to receive through his appointed representative all the income deriving from the two villages: the *kanonikon* of the priests, fees from marriages, feast days, and the *zetia*. The following hierarchs appear with Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris in the document: Gregorios of Kaisaria of Kappadokia, Neophytos of Heraklia, Neophytos of Nikomedia, Ioasaph of Chalkedon, Theophanes of Athens, Ioasaph of Prousa, Theophanes of Old Patras, Parthenios of Adrianople, Ioasaph of Philippoupolis, Timotheos of Serres, Paisios of Thessalonike, Klemes of Philippi & Drama, Gabriel of Naupaktos & Arta, Theophanes of Nauplion & Argos, Galaktion of Melenikon (Aug. 1622-28 June 1628, cited as dead), Ioannikios of Ganos & Chora, Christophoros of Anchialos, Ignatios of Chios, Anthimos of Didymoteichon, Ioasaph of Lakedaimonia, Parthenios of Ainos, Laurentios of Selyvria, Theodosios of Media & Sozopolis, Akakios of Mesemvria, Daniel, formerly of Ainos, Klemes of Proikonesos, Parthenios of Varna, Nektarios of Tzia & Thermia, Theophanes of Olene, Metrophanes of Agathoupolis, Parthenios of Kernitza, Melchesedek of Raidesto, Kornelios of Methymna, and Daniel of Reon.

Of the forty-six different hierarchs listed in the six documents by name and see (there are an additional eleven listed by see alone) at least ten of them present a chronological problem. They are: Ioasaph of Chalkedon, Parthenios of Adrianople, Christophoros of Anchialos, Laurentios of Selyvria, Theophanes of Nauplion & Argos, Theodosios of Media & Sozopolis, Ioannikios of Ganos & Chora, Anthimos of New Patras, Meletios of Amasia, and Dorotheos of Peritheorion & Xanthe.

That is, these ten hierarchs sign as incumbents of their sees from *fourteen* to *twenty-six* months *before* their election. Now there are a number of possible answers to this anomaly. 1) the documents were inaccurately dated; 2) we are dealing with synonymous hierarchs; 3) copies of the documents were drawn up at the time the issues were decided on, but the names of the witnessing hierarchs were added later. In this instance the above ten hierarchs were witnesses after the fact. Therefore, the dating of the documents cannot be relied on in determining the chronology of the hierarchs, and those who have done so have been misled.

As to the accuracy of the dating of the documents this cannot be checked, as stated above, due to the absence of independent witnesses or any internal verification. As will be seen below, when

the eleven hierarchs are examined individually, synonymous hierarchs can be ruled out. Finally, this leaves us with the third solution of witnesses after the fact.¹⁶

We shall now proceed to examine each of these hierarchs to determine how the chronology of their tenures compares with that of the documents.

IOASAPH OF CHALKEDON is attested in Number One, Three, and Six, dated from 25 February 1622 to August 1622. Ioasaph, however, who was a learned hieromonk and teacher, was elected in May 1623,¹⁷ some *fifteen months* after his presence was attested in the earliest document. He succeeded Ioseph (June 1620-1622) and served until May 1625¹⁸ when he was deposed for joining the movement of Metropolitan Gregorios of Amasia who illegally became Patriarch of Constantinople.¹⁹

Afterwards, Ioasaph returned to his see which he illegally occupied. How long he remained before being deposed a second time is not known. However, on 24 March 1626, his successor Gregorios, the Protosynkelos of the Great Church, was elected and his deposition and "illegal" occupancy of the see is cited.²⁰

PARTHENIOS OF ADRIANOPOLE is attested in Numbers One, Three, and Six, dated 25 February to August 1622. But in 1622, Parthenios was still the metropolitan of Anchialos. He was elected to Adrianople on 19 June 1623, *sixteen months* later than document One where he first appears. Parthnios succeeded Anthimos who was elected Patriarch of Constantiople on 19 June 1623. Parthenios served Adrianople until 1 July 1639, when he too was elected Patriarch. He served until September 1644.²¹

CHRISTOPHOROS OF ANCHIALOS is attested in Numbers One, Two, Three, and Six, dated from 25 February to August 1622. Christophoros, however, was elected ca. 19 June 1623,²² some *sixteen months* after Number One. On the latter date, his predecessor Parthenios was transferred from Anchialos to Adrianople.²³ Christophoros served Anchialos until 27 June 1628, when he was elected metropolitan of Philippoupolis.²⁴ He served in the latter see until December 1636, when his successor Gabriel was elected and he is cited as dead.²⁵

LAURENTIOS OF SELYVRIA is attested in Numbers One, Three, and Six, dated from 25 February to August 1622. He was the Protosynkelos of the metropolis of Heraklia when elected on 29 April 1624 some *twenty-six months* after the date of document Number One.

Laurentios served until 1/20 February 1638 when his successor Sophronios was elected and he is cited as having been deposed for

various "crimes."²⁶

On 30 August 1638, Laurentios was elected, having previously been forgiven, metropolitan of Ikonion.²⁷ How long he served there is not known.

THEOPHANES OF NAUPLION & ARGOS is attested in Numbers One, Three, and Six, dated from 25 February to August 1622. But Theophanes was elected on 29 April 1624,²⁸ some *twenty-six months* following document Number One. Theophanes succeeded Sophronios who served from May 1607 to February 1623 when he resigned. Theophanes served until October 1654 when he was deposed. He was exonerated in 1655, returned to his see ca. 1658, and served until November 1665, when he was deposed for a second time.²⁹

THEODOSIOS OF MEDIA & SOZOPOLIS is also attested in Numbers One, Three, and Five, dated from 25 February to August 1622. Theodosios, the Ephemerios of the Great Church, was elected metropolitan of both Media and Sozopolis *eighteen months* after the dating of document Number One, that is on 1/5 August 1623.³⁰

Theodosios was the first incumbent of the joint see following the resignation of Kallinikos of Sozopolis (ca. August 1623) and Arsenios of Media (June 1623).³¹

In May 1628 the see was separated but Theodosios remained metropolitan of Media which he served until 29 October 1636 when he resigned due to a "scandal known to all" and asked Patriarch Kyrillos I to replace him.³²

IOANNIKIOS OF GANOS & CHORA is attested in Numbers Three and Six, dated March to August 1622. He was elected some *twenty-five months* after the composition of our first document, that is, in April 1624.³³ He succeeded Ignatios who served Ganos & Chora from 1616-1 April 1624 when he resigned.

Ioannikios served until ca. Sept. 1636 when he was elected metropolitan of Heraklia.³⁴ He remained at Heraklia until 16 November 1646 when he was elected Patriarch of Constantinople.³⁵ Ioannikios served as patriarch on four different occasions: 16 November 1646-29 October 1648; beginning June 1651-mid June 1652; 1/10 April 1653-beginning March 1654; March 1655-end of July 1656.³⁶

ANTHIMOS OF NEW PATRAS is only attested in Number Three, dated March 1622. But he too was elected after the fact, some *fifteen months* later on 29 May 1623. There is an eighteen year lacuna between Gabriel, attested in 1605, and Anthimos in 1623. Anthimos served until sometime before 18 April 1626,

when his successor Neophytos is first attested.³⁷ Anthimos is cited as dead in the election certificate of Neophytos which is undated except for the year.³⁸

Previously, Anthimos had served as Bishop of Grevena.

MELETIOS OF AMASIA is also attested only in Number Three, dated March 1622. He could not have been a signatory to Number Three because his predecessor Gregorios served Amasia from January 1613 to 12 April 1623 when he illegally seized the Patriarchal Throne.³⁹ Meletios, in fact, was elected on 15 June 1623, that is, *fifteen months* after he is supposed to have signed the documents and three days before Patriarch Gregorios was expelled.

Meletios himself was deposed in July 1626 and was succeeded by Bishop Zacharias, formerly of Prespa.⁴⁰

In Zacharias' election certificate, Meletios is cited as having been ordained by "the apostate who had been anathematized, Gregorios, the Blind-Metropolitan of Amasia," and of having abandoned his see for two years to travel to "western parts."⁴¹

DOROTHEOS OF PERITHEORION AND XANTHE is attested only in Number Three, dated March 1622. This is *fourteen months* before Dorotheos' election on 30 May 1623. Dorotheos succeed Gabriel who is cited as dead on 30 May 1623. Dorotheos served at least until May 1624.⁴²

In conclusion, it must be said that the six documents of *Codex Alpha* examined above cannot be used to determine the inclusive dates of the ten hierarchs treated in this study.

NOTES

1. *Codex Alpha*, numbered 333 according to an older numbering, and "Alpha/1" in accordance with a later enumeration, is the oldest post-Ottoman codex found in the archives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. It is a manuscript of 502 pages of which 158 are blank, containing some 316 documents dating from 1538 to 1688, although one document in Arabic can possibly be dated in the first or second decade of the eighteenth century. The MS itself is entitled: *Kodix /Hypomnematon/ kai /Sigillion /1539-74 / A / pal. ar. 333 / Kodix /Hypomenmaton /kai / sigillion/ 1539-1574 / 1684*. For a brief and rather unsystematic description of the MS, see Gennadios A. Arampatzoglou, *Photieios Vivliotheke*, 2 vols. (Constantinople, 1933-1935), 1, ii, n. 12 and the older study of Menas Chamoudopoulos, "Patriarchikes Pinakides," *Ekklesiastike Aletheia*, 2 (1882), pp. 229-34.

2. Numbered One to Six for purposes of identification and found on pages 106-07, 112-13, 162-63, 115, and 108-09 respectively of the MS. My numbering was determined by the chronological order of the documents.

3 Kyrillos I Loukaris served as Patriarch of Constantinople on five different occasions from 4 November 1620 to 20 June 1638 when he was deposed and then murdered by the Ottoman authorities. In addition, Kyrillos, while Patriarch of Alexandria (November 1601-4 November 1620) served for a brief time in October 1612 as "Administrator" of the Church of Constantinople, see Germanos of Sardes, "Symvole eis tous patriarchikous katalogous Konstantinoupoleos apo Haloseos kai hexes," *Orthodoxia* 10 (1935) 359-60 and Nomikos Michael Vaporis, *Codex (B) Beta of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople Aspects of the History of the Church of Constantinople* (Brookline, MA, 1975), pp 56-57

4 *Codex Alpha*, pp 106-07 Published by Ioakeim Phoropoulos, "Engrapha tou Patriarchikou Archeiophylakeiou," *Ekklesiastike Aletheia*, 19 (1899), 22-24 and Ioannes Andreades, *Historia tes en Chio Orthodoxou Ekklesias* (Athens, 1940), pp lxxxiii-lxxxv Andreades adds Theophanes of Old Patras who does not appear in our document. Cited by Konstantinos Sathas, *Mesaionike Vivliotheke* 7 vols (Athens, 1875), 3 p 562, Manouel Gedeon, *Patriarchikoi Pnakes* (Constantinople, 1890), p 551, and Aimilianos of Miletos, "Patriarchika sigillia en tois kodixi tou Archeiophylakiou tou Oikoumenikou Patriarcheiu," *Orthodoxia* 34 (1959), p 472

5 The inclusive dates of Meletios of Varna are rather confusing. There is a consensus as far as his election is concerned but while his name appears in the above documented dated 25 Feb 1622, Parthenios is attested in Jan 1622, on 2 Feb 1622, and in July 1624 (See Vaporis, *Codex Beta* pp 68, 71, 77) Parthenios served Varna until ca 7 Apr 1635 when he is cited as dead. See Germanos of Sardis, "Episkopikoi katalogoi ton eparchion tes Voreiou Thrakes kai en genei tes Voulgarias apo tes Haloseos kai hexes," *Thrakika* 8 (1937), p 126

6 *Codex Alpha*, pp 112-13 Cited by Sathas, p 562, Gedeon, *Pnakes*, p 551, idem, *Patriarchikai Ephemerides* (Athens, 1936), pp 92, 179-80

7 In addition there are a number of hierarchs who are represented by their sees alone, their assent being appended by various patriarchal officials. Although they do not contribute to our discussion, since the names of the incumbents are not given, the sees are listed here for the sake of completeness: the Grand Logothetes who signs for the hierarchs of Thessalonike, Athens, Prousa, Elasson, the Grand Oikonomos, the Grand Slavophylax who signs for the metropolitan of Mesembria, the Grand Rhetor who signs for the hierarchs of Ephesos, Tornovo (Trnovo), Mitylene, Lemnos, the Dikaiophylax who signs for the hierarchs of Ankyra (Ankara), Thebes, the Protonotarios who signs for the hierarchs of Synada, Kapha, Vizya, and Melos

8 *Codex Alpha*, pp 162-63 Cited by Sathas, p 562, Aimilianos, pp 472-73

9 For Patriarch Gerasimos, see Vaporis, *Codex Beta*, pp 60-61

10 *Codex Alpha*, p 115 Cited by Sathas p 572

11 Also included is the hierarch of Tzia & Thermia, whose name is omitted

12 *Codex Alpha*, p 117 Cited by Sathas, p 572

13 See Vaporis, *Codex Beta*, pp 76-77

14 Also included are the metropolitan of Tzia & Thermia, the Grand Logothetes, and the Grand Rhetor, all without names

15 *Codex Alpha*, pp 108-09 Text published by Phoropoulos, "engrapha," *EA*, 19 pp 59-60 He places document on p 101 of the MS which is blank and erroneously

dates is August 1623, and Andreades (*Chios*, pp. lxx-lxxxv) following Gedeon (*Pinakes*, p. 551), dates document in 1621. Cited, Sathas (p. 562) with correct date.

16. In this solution I had the corroboration of Professor Chrestos Patrinoles of the University of Thessalonike to whom I express my thanks for his assistance.

17. For Ioasaph's election certificate, quoted in part, see Gennadios Arampatzoglou, "Skiagraphia tes historias tes metropoleos Chalkedonos kai ho episkopikos autes katalogos," *Orthodoxia*, 29 (1944), p. 75.

18. See deposition in Vaporis, *Codex Beta*, p. 84 and resume of same in A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Hierosolymitike Vivliotheke*, 4 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1891), 4, p. 19. Arampatzoglou (*Orthodoxia*, 19 (1944), p. 75) failed to note Ioasaph's first deposition (see Vaporis, *Codex Beta*, pp. 78-79, 84-85) and therefore lists him from May 1623-March 1626. He is followed by Janin (*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 12, col 275) and V. Stavrides, *Threskeutike kai Ethike Engkyklopaideia*, 12, col. 54. Anthimos Alexoudes, "Chronologikoi, Katalogoi ton apo Christou archiereusanton kat' eparchias," *Neologos*, March 25, 1890, lists Ioasaph only in 1624.

19. Metropolitan Gregorios of Amasia (January 1613-13 April 1623) illegally "seized" the patriarchal throne on 12 April 1623 but did not succeed in being formally installed as patriarch until 17 May. He remained patriarch until 18 June 1623 when he was expelled. But he continued to present difficulties for the Patriarchate for some time afterwards. See Germanos, *Orthodoxia*, 9 (1934), pp. 489-91; Vaporis, *Codex Beta*, p. 42., no. 4. Gregorios also appears below as one of the hierarchs examined. See below under Gregorios of Amasia.

20. For Gregorios of Chalkedon's election and Ioasaph's second deposition, see Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Vivliotheke*, 4, p. 19; Vaporis, *Codex Beta*, pp. 86-87; Metropolitan Athenagoras, "Ho thesmos ton Sygkellon en to Oikoumeniko Patriarcheio," *EEBS*, 9 (1932), p. 253; and Arampatzoglou, *Orthodoxia*, 19 (1944), p. 75.

21. For Parthenios' tenure as metropolitan of Anchialos and Adrianople, see Vaporis, *Codex Beta*, pp. 58, n 10, p. 79, n 4, and pp. 107-08 for his election as patriarch. See too, idem, *Codex Gamma of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople* (Brookline, MA, 1974), p. 28, n 18.

22. See *Codex Alpha*, p. 128; Germanos, *Thrakika* 8 (1937), p. 121; A. Diamantopoulos, "Katalogos episkopon kai metropoliton Thrakes," *Thrakika*, 9 (1938), p. 174. T. Gritsopoulos (*TEE*, col. 337), records Christophoros from 1622, based on the above documents, while Alexoudes (*Neologos*, 25, 16 July 1891) records 1624-1628.

23. See above note 20.

24. Germanos, *Thrakika*, 8 (1937), p. 185; Alexoudes, *Neologos*, 25, March 21, 1891; Apostolides, "He hiera tes Philippoupoleos metropolis kai hoi kodikes autes," *Archeion Thrakikou Laographikou Thesaurou*, 4 (1937-1938), p. 13.

25. *Codex Alpha*, p. 279; Sathas, p. 566; Menas Chamoudopoulos, "Archieratikai enallagai," *Ekklesiastike Aletheia*, 2 (1882), p. 670; Vaporis, *Codex Beta*, p. 97, n 4; T. Gritsopoulos, "Symvole eis ten ekklesiastike historia Philippoupoleos kata ton 12 aiona," *Archeion*, 19 (1954), pp. 269-70.

26. *Codex Alpha*, p. 329; Germanos, *Thrakika*, 6 (1935), p. 119; Gritsopoulos, *Archeion*, 21 (1956), p. 119.

27. *Codex Alpha*, p. 337. Laurentios is omitted by Alexoudes, *Neologos*, 25 January 24, 1892.

28 Sathas, p 564

29 G Konidares (*Threskeutike kai Christianike Engkyklopaideia*, 2 p 47) and Ch Patrinoles (*Threskeutike kai Ethike Engkyklopaideia*, 3 col 57) attest Theophanes from 1624-1654, while Vasileios Ateses ("Episkopoi katalogoi tes Ekkesias tes Hellados ap' arches mechri semeron," *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*, 57 [1975], p 122) attests three different metropolitans with the name of Theophanes from 1622 (our documents) to 1665. All the above authorities missed Sathas' notations (pp 592, 597) on Theophanes' exoneration and second deposition. V Mystakides ("Episkopikoi katalogoi," *EEBS* 12 [1936], p 163) correctly dates him from April 1624 to November 1665.

30 For Theodosios' election, see *Codex Alpha*, p 130. See also Germanos, *Thrakika* 6 (1936), p 99 and *ibid*, 8 (1938), p 171, Chamoudopoulos, *EA*, 2, p 668, and Vapouris, *Codex Beta*, p 79, n 6.

31 Arsenios resigned because Media had been pillaged, while Kallinikos resigned because Sozopolis had been destroyed and deserted due to frequent raiding for human booty "conducted by the Russians" and the difficulties created by the Muslims. See Sathas, p 563.

32 *Codex Alpha*, pp 294-95.

33 Sathas, p 571, G Arampatzoglou, *Photios Vivliotheke*, 2 vols (Constantinople, 1933-1935) I, p 161, Germanos, *Thrakika*, 6 (1936) p 59, Vapouris, *Codex Beta* p 81, n 4.

34 See *Codex Alpha*, p 284, Sathas, pp 571, 580, Chamoudopoulos, *EA*, 2, p 669, Vapouris, *Codex Beta*, p 109, n 6.

35 Sathas, p 580, see too, Vapouris, *Codex Beta*, p 125, n 1.

36 Germanos, *Orthodoxia*, 10 (1935), pp 32-34, 94-100.

37 Mystakides (*EEBS*, 12 [1936], p 206), Giannopoulos ("Episkopikoi katalogoi Thessalias," *Eptēris Parnassos*, 1 [1915], p 212), and Ateses (*Ekklesiastikos Pharos*, 57 [1975], p 504), all missed Sathas' notations (pp 562, 565) and attest Anthimos only in 1623.

38 See Sathas, pp 562, 565 and *Codex Alpha*, p 179.

39 See Germanos, *Orthodoxia*, 9 (1934), pp 489-91, Vapouris, *Codex Beta*, p 42, n 4. In *ibid*, Gregorios' initial date should be corrected from June 1617 to Jan 1613. See also *ibid*, pp 78-78.

40 See *Codex Alpha*, p 173.

41 *ibid*, Sathas, p. 565, Vailhé, *Dictionnaire*, col 969. Alexoudes (*Neologos*, 25 November 24, 1890) records 1624-1626 as does Mystakides, *EEBS*, 12 (1936), p 157. Gritsopoulos (*TEE*, 2, col, 265) lists Meletios only in 1630, while Kourilas (*TCE*, 1, col, 861) records 1633-1635.

42 Mystakides, *EEBS*, 12 (1936), p 209, Germanos, *Thrakika*, 6 (1935), pp 107-08, Germanos (*ibid*) attests Dorotheos' death and the election of his successor Samouel on August 5, 1923. But Dorotheos is attested in *Codex Alpha*, p 161, dated May 1624. His signature there is also attested by Gritsopoulos, *Mone Philosophou* (Athens, 1960), pp 215-220. Ateses (*Ekklesiastikos Pharos*, 55 [1955], p 161) also attests Dorotheos in 1623 and 1624.

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STANLEY S. HARAKAS

SOCIAL CONCERN AND THE GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE

Every two years, according to the charter and bylaws of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, a clergy-laity congress is held. The purpose of these congresses is to deal with the administrative affairs of the church. Specifically excluded from its formal concerns and legislative authority are questions of faith and doctrine. Yet, as the church gathers together in these biennial occasions, it is difficult, if not impossible, to isolate the mundane administrative concerns of the Archdiocese from the demands of faith. What was once a basically functional working and social meeting is in the process of slowly being transformed into a more spiritually oriented and more representative agency for the full range of the concerns of faith. An example of such a change is to be seen in the Committee on Finances which traditionally attracts the largest number of participants. An ever-increasing concern for truly Christian-motivated giving has transformed this committee over the years. Once firmly grounded in a head-tax, assessment mentality, it has over the years become a strong force in the development of a spiritually grounded stewardship program of fund-raising for the church.¹

A chief source for this development is the spirit and focus imparted by the 'keynote' addresses of Archbishop Iakovos at the inauguration of the congresses. These keynote addresses have provided a platform for the church's primate to assess the direction and development of the church, to guide the future orientation of the church, and to articulate hopes and dreams. Though often—as is to be expected—the keynote addresses deal with on-going 'in-house' interests of the parish life of the church and with the demands placed upon the Archdiocese as the administrative and organizational center of the Church, more and more these addresses cast that concern in the context of the Orthodox Christian faith and its demand that all expressions of the church's life reflect it. One concern addressed in such key-

note remarks is the philanthropic and social outreach of the church, as distinguished from the organizational, financial, legislative, and cultural interests of the church. In these pages we will survey the keynote addresses of the ten clergy-laity congresses held during the twenty year period of the hierarchical tenure of Archbishop Iakovos, 1960-1980.

The Fifteenth Clergy-Laity Congress

The Fifteenth Clergy-Laity Congress of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America was held in 1960 in Buffalo, New York. Most of the topics included in the keynote address dealt with the routine administrative concerns and competency of the congress. Of special interest to us in this study on social concern in the Archdiocese, however, is a section of the address on philanthropy. There the Archbishop said:

Philanthropy is another area of activity for our church, and for our Archdiocese. An area which is usually abandoned of workers. The only time we run and fill its ranks is when either we ourselves or some of our own people are struck by some misfortune, such as, for example, the earthquakes in recent years in the Ionian Islands and Thessalia. When, however, an earthquake strikes a nation such as Chile in South America, in which we ourselves have three parishes, then the Archdiocese is restricted to a telegram of sympathy, unable to offer anything more substantial . . . Unfortunately we fold our hands, our empty hands, and we hear the bitter comments from those who come to us "What is the Archdiocese doing?" The Archdiocese has to have a philanthropic fund. Today we commit only a symbolic amount in our budget for philanthropic purposes . . . But the Archdiocese is all of us. Are we ready to examine ourselves on this question? Are we prepared to conduct an investigation which doubtlessly would have as a consequence that we would assume greater responsibilities in reference to the Archdiocesan philanthropies program? As Archbishop I pray for it and call for it.²

This address in 1960 also included references in support of the Patriarchate which were defined as "responsibilities which are in the first instance moral and spiritual and only subsequently financial."³ Most of the other topics, in this first keynote address of the then new Archbishop dealt with issues of internal organization. Yet, the challenge to philanthropy in this context is all the more to be noticed and highlighted.

The Sixteenth Clergy-Laity Congress

The Sixteenth Clergy-Laity Congress was held in Boston in 1962. The message of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos was delivered to the congress on Monday, 25 June 1962. It was a long address of thirty-eight closely typewritten pages with exclusive focus on the inner life of the parishes and Archdiocese.⁴ It exemplified a strong sense of purpose and leadership on the part of the Archbishop. Though nothing in the message can be clearly designated as specifically related to social concerns, two emphases were to lay the foundations for the involvement of subsequent congresses in social concerns. In the first instance, there was a strong effort on the part of the Archbishop to move the atmosphere of the congress—and as a consequence, the relations of the parishes with the Archdiocese—to a more spiritually grounded orientation. Though nearly the whole agenda of the congress dealt with administrative, financial, and cultural concerns, the Archbishop began his address on a completely different note.

If we do not feel the presence of the Lord and we do not hear within us this prayer of Jesus every single day of this conclave, this will denote that the congress does not have a sacred purpose and that it is not going to fulfill any spiritual goal. Moreover, if we fail to hear the words of Jesus in our hearts, it follows that we have not been able to comprehend nor to be moved by the prayer of His All Holiness our Ecumenical Patriarch ‘that we progress in every good effort pleasing unto God and that we grow ever stronger.’

I want to abide in the hope, however, that we shall experience the presence of the Lord in our midst and that we shall always hear the warm resounding voice of our Holy Father and Patriarch so that day by day we may progress and increase in the faith.

This can become one of the most discouraging meetings ever held, if each of us does not participate in the Congress with the fullest expression of the reflections of his soul and conscience. If the word of God, the truth, and the strongest possible expression of our Christian duty do not serve as the basic criteria of our decisions at this congress, then we will have failed. This must not become a convention of the type in which rationalizations dominate the discussion and decisions are considered to be the result of a “voice-vote.” Our decisions should be reached after due consideration of our common obligation to the truth, to Christ, and to the Church.⁵

The second foundational emphasis was unity. The motto of the congress was "that we may all be one." Its major emphasis in the address was not ecumenical. Rather, it called for the unity of the parishes under the central direction of the Archdiocese and the unity of the parishioners in their parishes. Throughout the address the emphasis was on the unity of the parishes under the leadership of the Archdiocese. The chief vehicle for the unity was seen to be the adoption of the *Constitution and Uniform Regulations* of the Archdiocese by the local parishes. Thus in the review of the activities and work of the local bishops, a central feature was a public recital of the number of parishes in each District which has and had not approved the *Constitution and Uniform Regulations*. The rationale was forthrightly set out: "All existing signs point to one thing: that all our communities shall soon adopt it, because it exists for their benefit. It exists for them and was set forth by them. Our communities and community leaders now believe that with only a uniform constitution can we create a spirit of peaceful progress, and a promising future."⁶

The same was true for the emphasis on the unity of the local parish. The Archbishop thus emphasized:

It is necessary that the Greek Orthodox Community be based continually on the principle of unity of heart and soul; her essence must be derived from having 'all in common' and not on simply interests; her center or nucleus and periphery must be the Resurrection, i.e., the intent to live, function, and prosper in the Resurrection. In other words, for the resurrecting of the ethically and morally fallen souls, for the birth and revivification of the spiritually dead, and especially to make the resurrection the desire, ideal, and conscientious aspiration of all its members."⁷

Spiritual renewal and focus, coupled with unity of the faithful in the parishes and the unity of the parishes in the Archdiocese were the two foundations for the future development of the church. Though the bulk of the address dealt with a review of the progress of the preceeding two years (bishops, archdiocesan institutions, archdiocese activities, community building programs and projects, the church's position as a major faith), the thrust of the message was that renewed spiritual life and the unity of the faithful under the Archdiocese would provide the momentum for forward movement and progress. Thus, early in the talk (p. 3), these words of vision could be found: "Our Community must not be merely a place for one to meet—but rather a place

where one may meet for a common drive forward. A drive toward moral and spiritual perfection." Near the conclusion of the address there was a challenge to the parish leaders assembled to grow, to reach out, to assume responsibility and above all, to progress.

This is the image of our church today. Orthodoxy is constantly growing as a faith and as a way of life, as a tradition and a heritage, as a church and a mission. As we recognize this fact, we are obliged to assume certain responsibilities which we cannot and must not avoid. On the contrary, we must rise to the occasion and fulfill these responsibilities, even if for some this will necessitate personal sacrifices. Lest we forget, both our church and our nation were established with sacrifices.

Our first obligation is to seek progress. If our country were to ever take another name, that name would be Progress. No other country bears this mark so clearly. In our land, progress is the primary consideration, no sacrifice is too great for the sake of progress. The United States is the only country in which new roads are being opened constantly. This is the only country in which work is conducted around the clock; the only country which is constantly moving forward on land and in space.

Our first obligation as a church, therefore, is to seek progress. We must move forward in construction and administration, in spiritual and moral achievement, in degree and content. Our church must expand the horizon of its vision in all directions. The church must emerge from the barriers erected by community isolationists in order to face the challenge on an ecumenical plane.⁸

The challenge to progress was dramatically emphasized with the last charge of the Archbishop to the church: "Our final responsibility as a church is to reach for the stars. To believe in the unbelievable and to labor for the seemingly impossible goals."⁹ It is this forward-reaching spirit which was to characterize the Archdiocese for the balance of the first twenty years, including a forward movement into the areas of social concern.

The Seventeenth Clergy-Laity Congress

The new direction promised in the Archbishop's address of the Boston Congress began to unfold in the keynote address of the Seventeenth Clergy-Laity Congress held in Denver, Colorado in 1964. Significantly titled "Prelude,"¹⁰ it carried as a text the fol-

lowing biblical passage: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ! By His great mercy we have been born anew to a living hope, to an inheritance which is imperishable, undefiled and unfading" (1 Pet. 1.3-4). The text of the message of the Archbishop seems to have been chosen as a bridge between the preceeding congress and the Denver Congress. The call to spiritual renewal and unity which concluded in an affirmation of the idea of progress in the former congress, now began to sketch out the lines of hope and ecclesial rebirth.

The report began with an historical overview of the Greek Orthodox presence in the Americas, beginning with the New Smyrna Settlement of 1767. It focused secondly on the purchase in 1867 of the land for the first Greek Orthodox church in America in New Orleans. Thirdly, it looked forward to the immediately forthcoming date of 1967, as the beginning of the third century of Greek Orthodox presence in this country. Of this new century the Archbishop wrote: "Today we are not faced with the need of marking a new road. This new road for us was marked for us in 1767; it was opened fully in 1867; and it must become a highway in 1967."¹¹ It was on this note of positive expectation and hope that the Denver Congress began.

The emphasis on spiritual orientation for the work of the Church was restated with the obvious corollary of responsibility: Our Church is not simply an organization: it is the Body of Christ! Regrettably it is seldom conceived by us in this manner. If we could realize that the Church is the Body of Christ, then, we as true Christians, would seek our responsible place within this Body . . . The familiar phrase 'I am a member of the community,' must be supplanted within our conscience by the more appropriate phrase 'I am a member of the Body,' in order that the Body may live eternally, and have as its purpose, our salvation.¹²

The meaning of this commitment was then delineated. It meant that the church's mission was to share the faith and to permit the light of Orthodoxy to shine forth. It meant that the Archbishop was calling his church to cease thinking of itself as a passing visitor to the American scene and to assume a stance of involvement in the life of the nation.

Our church in America can no longer remain merely a spectator and listener, nor can it be satisfied with the role of a complainer.

No one in America, truly driven by ambition to work, and improve himself and thus project his own identity, can be ignored. Our church must remove itself from the sidelines and place itself fully in the center of American life. It must labor and struggle to develop its spiritual life and thus assume its place among the other churches as a living, thriving, courageous church ready to accept responsibilities and eager to submit to sacrifice.¹³

This forward-looking mission meant for the Archbishop a new set of priorities, which significantly for this study, included a strong emphasis on issues of social concern.

Our church cannot go forward as long as it continues to look backward. As the church of the future, we can no longer permit ourselves to discuss subjects concerning membership dues, parish boundaries, uniform bylaws, election irregularities and matters of local interest. A church of the future must concern itself with the fundamental problems of divorce, marriages not blessed by the Church, baptisms which have never been performed, a diluted Orthodox consciousness, pantheistic or pan-religious syncretism, nominal Orthodoxy, secular spirit, corruption of morals, hoodlumism, juvenile crime, and in general, reform of its constituency.¹⁴

Under the rubric "The Demands of the Times," the Archbishop responded: "Works." His focus included concerns pertinent to inner life and functioning of the church: constitution, priests, religious education, Greek education, discipline and laity. But there were outreach concerns as well, such as public relations and inter-church relations. However, social concerns were not absent. There was a paragraph on the family and the problems of divorce,¹⁵ the organization of a philanthropic agency, and youth work. Significant was a call at this Congress of 1964 for "an organization to coordinate the power of the Greek-American voter." The Archbishop opined: "I believe that the existence of such an organization is essential, because as Americans we are obliged to assume a position on many political and social issues. This we cannot and should not do as a church, because our church believes fully in the principles of the separation of church and state."¹⁶ This appears to be one of the earliest calls for involvement in the political processes of our nation by the Greek Orthodox Church for purposes of social concern. It was not to be realized until the Cyprus conflict a decade later. But the Archbishop had set the course.

The Eighteenth Clergy-Laity Congress

For the first time in the history of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, a clergy-laity congress, the eighteenth, was held in Canada. In 1966, this meeting of the church was to prove historical in another sense as well. It was the first clergy-laity congress to have a working committee on "Social and Moral Issues," as we shall see in the section which follows. Not unrelatedly, Archbishop Iakovos' keynote address¹⁷ had several significant references to social concern. The message was short—only ten typewritten pages. Familiar themes were repeated in new and fresh words.

In our zeal to see our church more firmly established in the second century, and in our dreams of seeing it a living and triumphant and major faith that is exercising a dominant spiritual and moral influence, let us not permit ourselves even for a moment to rest on what we have been in the past. On the contrary, what we must do for ourselves and for our church is to renew ourselves constantly, becoming "conformed to the image of His Son" (Rom. 8.29), and living the life of our Church, her oneness, her holiness, her catholicity, her apostolicity conscientiously and in all their fullness.¹⁸

A call to a "new and more robust life, full of vigor, full of creativeness," to a "revolution within us," to "self-criticism," to "awakening sobriety and renewal," to "vigilance and spiritual aggressiveness," to "unity and union" in an ecumenical, ecclesial, and personal context summarized the themes of past keynote addresses and deepened their understanding for the church. In conjunction with these themes, several ethical and moral topics were dealt with. Early in the address, for instance, the Archbishop criticized the separation by some "theologians, clerics and laymen" of faith and science while concurrently warning the world "not to succumb to the temptation of omnipotence, omnipresence, and omniscience which our preeminently scientific and technological age puts before us."¹⁹ In addition he called the church to "a century of rebuilding and reordering Christian moral and spiritual principles and values" and encouraged his flock to "see in particular how it might be possible for us to contribute so that the twentieth century . . . could become . . . a century of rebuilding and reordering Christian moral and spiritual principles and values."²⁰

A major theme of the address is ecumenism. It is at once an existential analysis of Orthodox attitudes, theological positions,

and a history of involvement. In addition, it tended to focus on the "life and work" dimension of ecumenical activity with a significant emphasis on issues of worldwide social concern. The whole passage deserves quoting:

We desire unity. It will be the seal of our faith in Christ Jesus. Nor are we afraid of union, for we prefer to see 'a Christendom arching freely over seas and continents, one and unique in its substance, one end united in its mission to the world, and one common confrontation of its problems . . . ' as His Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch wrote in his paschal encyclical this year. And the problems that need to be faced in common by all of us united are these: 1) the problem of overpopulation of the earth and the issue of birth control, 2) the problem of hunger affecting millions of people, 3) the problem of world health, 4) the problem of total disarmament, 5) the problem of the arms race, 6) the problem of the cold war, 7) the problem of social equality, 8) the problem of freedom of conscience, 9) the problem of underdeveloped peoples, 10) the problem of atheism, 11) the problem of the religious crisis, 12) the problem of communism, and 13) the problem of relations with other religions.²¹

A second major theme of this address is entitled "Restructuring and Reordering of Spiritual and Moral Principles and Values." The Archbishop analyzes the moral climate and finds that a "terrible confusion and inversion and distortion has been suffered by those spiritual and moral principles and values which for ages were used as guidelines and as the basis for forming and developing human character."²² But there is more than analysis and critique, for the address notes, "the work of the Church is not to diagnose a symptom but to heal the affliction no matter how long it takes, no matter how great the pain or the cost."²³ And once again, the Archbishop brought before the members of his church a new litany, a litany of moral and social concerns for them to deal with as a church and as God's people.

This is not a sermon. It is the overture of a symphony, the most beautiful of all—the symphony, the harmony between faith and practice.

And this overture must first resound in our conscience, secondly in our homes, thirdly in our parish halls, and finally from the rooftops of our houses. For no problem affecting our nation, the world, or our fellow man, can find us indifferent.

Neither the problem of the 'new morality' which is without

moral basis; nor the problem of youth, unprotected and exposed to every danger; nor the problem of the intellectual and moral well-being of the members of our parishes; nor the problem of the total secularization of the Christian family, nor the problem of divorce which threatens to destroy the foundation of marriage; nor the problem of crying social and economic inequality among people; nor the problem of political immunity of the unscrupulous leaders of the world; nor the problem of war, hot or cold, or the war of nerves; nor the problem of the world's population explosion and the effect it is likely to have on the social order; nor the problem of hypocritical conservatism or insolent liberalism.

Pindar proclaimed, 'When we begin a work we must place in the forefront a man of radiant countenance.' And this proclamation of our second century, and of the new work of our church which commences with it, cannot be other than the beginning of a new orientation, a new start, a new spiritual and moral mobilization. Let us give our full attention to that admonition of Saint Peter which has never been so timely: ". . . supplement your faith with virtue . . . brotherly affection with love" (2 Pet. 1.5-8).²⁴

This address is a turning point for the area of social concern in the Orthodox Church in this country. The Eighteenth Clergy-Laity Congress will be recorded in history as the point in time in which Orthodox Christianity made a turn from introspection and exclusive self-concern to viewing itself as responsible for the moral and social concerns of the age. It would take a long process to flesh out that new concern—a process still incomplete—but Montreal may be remembered for the discipline of social ethics, in truth as "the beginning of a new orientation, a new start, a new spiritual and moral orientation."²⁵ The appeal in the peroration of this address summed it up well: "Rise far above yourselves. See the new image of our church, and desire a greater role of our church on all matters, local, national, and worldwide, so long as these touch upon the work and mission of our church."²⁶

The Nineteenth Clergy-Laity Congress

Athens, Greece was the location of the Nineteenth Clergy-Laity Congress held from 20-27 July 1968. The proceedings of the congress were published in an impressive book.²⁷ Included in it was the address by His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos.²⁸ The theme of

the congress and of the message was the Pauline verse "Of one accord, of one mind" (Phil. 2.2), focusing the continuing theme of unity in the relations between the Greek Orthodox Church in the Americas and the Orthodox of Greece. The address spoke to the latter; it sought to explain the American church to the people in Greece. Striking at tendencies to view the Greek-Americans as an ethnic colony of Greece, the Archbishop demolished the notion.

We, the Greeks of America, are first and foremost a church. If you regard us as immigrants, you have committed your first error.

Our parishes began as organizations and developed into religious communities. Today, they are churches.²⁹

There is the desire that the bond between Greece and the Greek-Americans be kept strong so that they be "of one accord" and "of one mind," but on new terms. It is with a certain sense of autonomy that the Church of America presented itself to the people of Greece at this clergy-laity congress—a sure sign of its own maturation.

In reading the text, it is clear that it seeks to present the Archdiocese in an honest way to the Greek public. Yet, it still serves, in the hands of Archbishop Iakovos, in a tangible yet significant way, to raise up issues of social concern. Presenting the search for the unity of the Greek Orthodox Church in America as the "principle pursuit," the Archbishop presented a description of the social and moral climate of the times, as an illustration of the difficulty of the task. It was a perceptive socio-ethical analysis.

Our essential stand, however, is one along a united front: resolute, 'of one accord,' without defections or desertions. If we are possessed by agony, it is because we live in a time of great upheavals affecting the intellectual, philosophical and theological outlooks on life. If we feel a distress of our heart, it is because we are eyewitnesses to radical re-classification of values. Much time will elapse before a re-classification of new values is affected—if such will ever be. At this moment, however, our values are undergoing an earthquake, threatening them with total collapse. The first cracks appear as the discarding of all accepted spiritual and ethical values, and result in either a confused philosophy of eudaimonism and cynicism, or in a contradictory co-existence of existentialism and nihilism.

Today's political, economic, social, and spiritual climate in America is not at all conducive to favoring the normal develop-

ment and shaping of the mind and the ethos of the average man. This observation attests to that distress of heart to which I referred earlier. And it is just that distress of the heart which we feel at this moment. Everything—religion, language, family tradition, ethnic heritage—is under judgment. All these are accepted values, and all these are being overturned.³⁰

In the concluding summary of the address, there was another similar analysis especially perceptive of the moral climate of America in the late sixties and early seventies. Presented with a certain kerygmatic passion it nevertheless provided deep insight to the social problems of the day. I quote the passage extensively.

As you well know, we live today in a period without precedence in the history of America. Cynicism is rampant and everything that is traditional is challenged and rejected.

Where we once had real values, we now have empty words. What was respect for man, is now the shameful exploitation of him. Liberty has been replaced by a merciless slavery, which is spiritual and moral slavery. Justice has become injustice. The dignity of man has given way to the maltreatment of man. Friendship turns into revengeful hatred; self-confidence into moral bankruptcy; respect for law into lawless rebellion; modesty into insolence; academic freedom into anarchy by students; the righteous outcry into hypocritical slogans; truth into the ugliest lie; the helpful dialectic into slanderous preachings; technology into technocracy; beautiful art into ugliness; purity into the worst vulgarity.

Within these twistings of values, logic becomes irrational, justice is strangled, truth is distorted, prudence is disregarded, religion is reduced to a meaningless or a sadistical discussion in which all we held sacred is reviled. It is in such a world that modern man and his church must live.³¹

How is this situation to be faced? The Archbishop exhorts that for the Orthodox Christian to face this reality effectively it is necessary to perceive his faith as directly applicable to the problems of the age. Thus he opines:

It is necessary that Orthodoxy be vividly and dynamically interpreted as a theology or a correct way of life for the present-day Greek Orthodox, in a language and terminology which will meet the spiritual and moral needs of our times. Orthodoxy as a faith, as a theology, as a worship, as a tradition, and as a

satisfying and a salutary power must never become a stylized form, but it must increasingly become an inseparable element and dynamic part of our life.³²

It is, of course, not only the task of theological interpretation to make the influence of the Church felt on social concerns, but the archepiscopal guidelines presented here are sufficient warrant for continued and intensified theological study of the Orthodox Christian foundations for social ethics.

In the area of practical effort and action the message ascribed to priests a leadership role in philanthropy,³³ called for the cooperation and leadership of the Church of Greece "as the only truly free Orthodox Church,"³⁴ and underlined the concern of the Church in America for the youth and family life.³⁵ Further, in response to the crises of the age, the Archbishop presented the Orthodox of America as actively responding: "Those of us who are in America, knowing that we face a crisis that tries our conscience, attempt to react in a way that will not allow us to avoid taking a definite stand; and we try to take a stand that is consistent with the will of God."³⁶

Concretely expressed, the Office of Inter-Church Relations is described in this message as exercising such a role in an ecumenical context, though the Archbishop concurrently rejects Greek-American involvement in the national politics of Greece and any church involvement in American partisan politics.³⁷ Regarding the activities of the Office of Inter-Church Relations, he said:

Through this office, we express our opposition to certain positions taken by churches or religious organizations in certain areas such as the questions of prayer and the reading of the Bible in the public schools of America, or when they assume extreme positions on ethical, social, economic, political or international questions. The position of our church is only expressed after long, detailed, and responsible consideration of such subjects. We are, of course, very much concerned with injustice, or prejudice, or victims of unfair laws, but we do not allow emotionalism to decisively effect our position. We believe that in such circumstances, prudence, moderation and objectivity are more fitting characteristics of a church with authority and Christian responsibility.³⁸

The Twentieth Clergy-Laity Congress

New York City was the location of the Twentieth Clergy-

Laity Congress of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, held in 1970. The keynote address of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos was appropriately entitled "Toward the Decade 1970-1980."³⁹ The style, it needs to be noted, of this address was quite different from all those which preceded it. Whereas the former were clearly cast in kerygmatic style, addressed to the hearts as well as the minds of the listeners and readers, written with a certain literary flair, the address to the Twentieth Clergy-Laity Congress bore none of these characteristics. It was formed, "objective," "intellectual," and in some fashion "detached." It ultimately was to become one of the most controversial speeches of the tenure of Archbishop Iakovos because of proposals regarding the use of English by the church. Though notes of hope and enthusiasm are not lacking, its pessimistic tone was out of character with the addresses which both preceded and followed it.

The structure of the address included the following major topical divisions: "Our Church Today" and "Our Congress Topics." The "assessment of the status of the church" in 1970 began with a survey of opinions in the church about that which guaranteed its liveliness and growth. This is followed by three suggested areas of general improvement for the church. The leading two of these areas, i.e. the church as co-workers with God, and the image of the church as spiritual, lead to the third which included, among its concerns, social involvement.

Thus, the Archbishop spoke of the "acts, conversations and general deportment of many of us [as] characterized by such decadence that it can only contribute to the increased deterioration of morality in our society." When he proceeded to discuss "the area of social involvement and action," the same realism and negative assessment prevailed, though this became an occasion to demand much more of his flock.

The pulpit is utilized on numerous occasions to refer to social subjects, without basing our reference on Orthodox ethical or theological positions, which would make our sermon an important lesson in religious education.

Let us now come to the area of social involvement and action. Such action is generally limited among our people. Only sporadically are we concerned, and then mainly for reasons of social publicity, rather than because of our interest to help 'bear the burdens of others' (Gal. 6.2) in terms of a broader social concern beyond the confines of our parochial concerns.

If we even briefly reflect on the history of our church, we will find that it has never restricted its love and philanthropy from those "outside its fold." Our contribution to the abolishment of racial segregation and in behalf of social justice, are of a most imperative nature. Our contribution to the war against ignorance, poverty, and the other physical and moral dangers which threaten the substance of our social order are among our sacred obligations. Our resistance to the systematic effort to diminish the influence of religiously based social institutions or restrictions, such as the easing of the granting of divorces, birth control, abortion, homosexuality, free love, narcotics, pornography in print or in the theater, would undoubtedly contribute much to the improvement of the image or state of the church. Last, but by no means least, the establishment of an imperative dialogue with our children regarding the real challenges to the ethos and the confused logic of our time can no longer be delayed.⁴⁰

Immediately following in a section on the renewal of preaching, the Archbishop demanded that among other things, it be a "kerygma of moral integrity" and "social justice." Referring to this latter topic, he hinted at an Orthodox Christian grounding for social action.

In terms of our concern for social and moral problems, our Church is guided by the definition of our Christian obligation to man and his soul. In terms of our Church's relations toward political issues, it is guided by its centuries-old tradition that 'we cannot serve two masters' (Mt. 6.24). Its policy must be guided by its subjection to one master: God!⁴¹

The congress topics listed were "Financial Support or Stewardship?"; "Liturgical Reform or Conscientious Religious Living?"; "Is a Fundamental Revision of our Educational Philosophy Possible?"; "Our Children: Our Pride or our Problem?"; and "What is the Future of our Church?" The latter two contain material related to social concerns. Dominant in the section on "Our Children" is clearly a deeply pained concern with the attitudes of the young people of the anti-Vietnam war period.

In the traditional Greek Orthodox family children are loved, doted over and it is in them that parents see their future, the reflection of their own dignity and find pride in the eyes of their peers. Thus, is the anguished cry, expressing the sense of betrayal and hurt felt by the parents, the result of the influence of the school?

When even students begin to speak freely—extremely freely—and demand equal rights of speech, why do they speak so disrespectfully about every authority and power, including that of their family? What is wrong? Who gave our children the right to judge our conduct? What is the dreadful thing which has changed our children from a source of pride, which we wanted them to be, to become today a challenge and a problem?

Many people ask these questions with pain and anguish—some simply because they feel like expounding bitterly, others because they actually comprehend the situation, and still others as the result of sincere indignation and concern. Others see the conduct of their children as their own personal shame: others fire off barbs against the school and the church, that they have no power since they are unable to accomplish that which they have failed to accomplish themselves. Whereas others who are not parents, and who wish to present themselves as contemporary, highly educated and wise, speak of the new generation, the new art, the new civilization, without weighing the consequences of their irresponsibility, which indeed has no spiritual basis whatsoever.⁴²

There follow several pages of sustained, if not systematic, exposition and commentary, on the situation—critical, appreciative, analytical. It deserves to be quoted extensively. Its themes are war, the relationship of parents and children, moral values, both public and private, the institutions of society, and the psychology of youth. It is a remarkable statement.

Generally speaking, opinions that are expressed and heard, are so widely divergent and so superficial, that one might well ask if it is actually true that we have the ability to think clearly any longer. The war which is being waged here in the rear echelon—the home front—will prove to be much more catastrophic than the war of shame which is being waged on the foreign front, which will have as its result the wounding of the souls, if not the actual death of the souls of millions of the youth, and we, the merchants of liberal mindedness, of intellectual anarchy, and of the prostitution of all that is sacred and holy shall be responsible. That which appears as revolution of the youth, is not as it appears: that is, the slogans, the demonstrations, violence, the raised fists, or the painted flowers and the doves. It is something much deeper and much worse: it is the revolution against every moral law—the written and the unwritten. That which makes the young rush towards revolution, is not the search to experi-

ence the freedom of conduct, black or white magic, astrology or the hypersensitive psychoses or fantasies, but the *negation of self-respect*, and *self-discipline*, which they ridicule in the most sarcastic way. This is an ideological war waged in the most covert, sophisticated and deceitful manner. The *target of this war is the moral and the intellectual integrity of the youth*. First, doubt is created in the minds of the youth regarding the religious and moral principles which they have always known. Secondly, they are made to understand that respect and love toward family and loved ones—the institution and the individuals therein—are conventional, traditional, unnatural and false. Third, they are subjected to such a merciless brainwashing, that they are rendered empty of convictions and principles, after which the void is filled with false philosophies and a frightening intellectual chaos and agony. These are the factors which bring about the insecurity, anxiety and unhappiness of our youth. As a result they submit themselves to an ostensibly new intellectualism, which neither believes in, nor loves, nor has hope in anything. The cries against the war and in behalf of peace are most often a smoke screen, and are not actually a cause which they wish to push forward at all costs. Material affluence has given rise to a kind of pseudo-asceticism, which has nothing in common with the philosophical asceticism of Diogenes, nor with the Christian asceticism of Saint Katherine. True asceticism is not based simply upon the disdain or rejection of material wealth. It is based upon the exercise of those virtues which can change wealth into a means to feed the hungry and save the soul of the poor. On the other hand, the outcry against the establishment has nothing in common with the spiritual and moral activity of the revolutionaries of Alexandria, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch and Rome. who led sinful monarchs to repentance, society to moral rebirth, intellectuals to the truth of Christianity, the faithless to their spiritual redemption, the people of their times to the golden age of Christendom.

This should suffice in respect to the vociferous segment of our contemporary youth, whose reconciliation with and return to the road of common sense should be considered one of our important obligations. The youth of our day in its greater majority, however, is the same as the youth of every age. It is enthused with the ideal and welcomes it to its bosom. Under no circumstances will it condone hypocrisy. It is fanatically opposed to

injustice. It angrily condemns war. It passionately loves peace. If we always realize this truth about our youth, I am certain we would be much more careful about our own conduct and the manner in which we converse with our children. When they are young, our children like to play with us and engage in pleasantries. This is also true with us. When they become older they want us to take them more seriously and find the time and have the patience to discuss their problems with them. Our children are no different than other children of the same age. The fact that they are children of parents born here or in Greece, does not make them different. Nor does the fact that they belong to the Orthodox Church automatically create within them a different manner of thinking. Quite the opposite, the consciousness of their unique dual ancestry, for which we are so proud, sharpens their criticism of us, especially when it is apparent that we are neither inspired by nor live by its principles and values. It would be good for us to take note of this fact and to see their criticism as criticism of our ethnic and religious ethos, which should make us more worthy bearers of our heritage.

Personally, I am very happy to see that we are beginning to be disturbed about our younger generation. This means that we are beginning to acquire a hopeful sensitiveness.

If it is true that the tree is judged by its fruit, and the parents by their children, and the history, reality and God, condemn those unworthy generations of people as 'faithless and corrupt,' then we must also realize that now is not the time to place blame one on the other, but a 'time acceptable and a time of repentance.' Even this late hour can afford us the opportunity to call upon our conscience for the immediate fulfillment of our responsibility which we have neglected or inadequately fulfilled.⁴³

The final section of the address, "What is the Future of Our Church", began with a list of nine "facts" regarding accomplishments, the first and last of which referred to the efforts of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in the area of social concern.⁴⁴

In all, it was an address which not only referred to questions of social concern, but dealt at some length with one of the continuing concerns of the Church in the area of social morality: youth and its relation to family and society.

The Twenty-First Clergy-Laity Congress

The Archbishop's address at the 21st Clergy-Laity Congress held

in 1972 was entitled, "A Commentary on the Congress Topics."⁴⁵

Without any preliminaries, the commentary began a discussion of the five topics of the congress: youth, education, the parish, finance, and inter-church relations. It should be noted at once, however, that this is an "in-house" document. It focuses on the inner life of the church, and most cogently, on the parish itself rather than on the Archdiocese. The section on the parish⁴⁶ is an admirable exposition of the theology of the parish, focusing once again on its spiritual and ecclesial reality. It could well have served as the introduction to the whole.

The first section picked up on the theme of youth so predominantly emphasized in the keynote address of the 20th Clergy-Laity Congress. Its importance is highlighted in the first lines, together with the outline of the Archbishop's analysis of the causes of the crisis of youth in our day.

The first topic is that of 'our youth': a subject which is of the deepest concern to parents, priests, parish councils as well as the Archdiocese. Despite the fact that we 'all do our part', in great measure, (this we believe and say), our youth becomes more and more estranged from our accepted 'Hellenic-Christian' traditions, for the simple reason that the social environment, the American system of education, and the spiritual and cultural revolution of our times exert a far greater influence on the lives of our children in comparison with our efforts to impose our traditions as an element or structure.⁴⁷

Analyzing the ways in which youth justifies their lack of relationship with the Church, the Primate focused on the issue of language, not so much the Greek of the liturgical services as "another language—the ecclesiastical languages" the language with which the Church seeks to speak to youth of this age. The words are sharp and incisive and deserve in the context of social concern, to be recorded.

The language which the youth of today understands best is the language of hard reality or of today's struggle between traditional values and morality: and the natural and circumstantial morality which is preached in the universities, the influential newspapers and by the defenders of the great and dramatic causes of our time.

If you wish, it can be referred to as the language of confusion, a tough and vulgar language. In any case, it is the language of youth, to whom we have not tried, or are unable to teach the

language of religion, the language of simplified theology, or the language of a morality, not based on instinct, but on the logic and experience of past generations, which traveled the same road of life on which the present generation finds itself. Our inability or our unwillingness to speak this language to our children and to reply to all their bold questions regarding their physiological life, opens wider the gap between us and our children—that which is called the ‘generation’ or ‘credibility gap’, and which unfortunately is a fact.⁴⁸

A harsh critique of the parental failure to communicate spiritual values to their children followed. This, in turn, was followed by a biting critique of language spoken to the youth of our age by society at large, a critique focusing on a series of social and moral concerns. The passage concluded with a call for self-examination, re-adaptation and re-birth.

Even our society—the world in which we live—does not speak their language, according to our children. It speaks of morality, while being basically immoral. It speaks of religion, but understands it not as a spiritual exhortation, but as an institutional service at its beck and call. It speaks of education, and understands it as a means to prepare oneself for earning greater wealth. It speaks of justice and law and order, and it understands it as a control of the environment to make it safe for society, even though it would not necessarily make it safe for those who have been wronged, or ignored or victimized. It speaks of patriotism, and understands it to mean the perpetuation of the status quo. It speaks of peace, and understands it to mean that which the ancient Roman meant: a military force which would abolish the fear and danger of war. Whereas, the youth, who are the victims of all social, class, capitalistic and militaristic wars, search for and demand consistency between that which is preached and that which is done. In other words, they search for another world, another society, less dependent on the past, which is full of contradiction and hypocrisy, one which would permit them to be freer to adapt and orient themselves to a truly new future.

This is the problem, or chain of problems, which choke the soul of our youth, even that element of the youth which has permitted itself to become involved in the fatal self-destructive activity of drug use. And our problem is simple: can we first free ourselves from our self-admiration and self-satisfaction, and become re-born, in order to solve our own psychological complexes with decisive-

ness, and then face and solve the problems besetting our children with self-sacrifice and love? The critical nature of our times demands of us self-examination and re-adaption of our thinking and actions. It does not permit a separation of responsibilities. Our children, which we too often consider a curse, we may realize to be a divine blessing in disguise.⁴⁹

The final section of the commentary deals with the relationship of the Archdiocese to the ecumenical movement. It took note of criticism leveled against Orthodox involvement in ecumenism. Among the criticisms of interest to us in this study are those which come from "a number of pious and conservative laymen, who are against our relationships with the World Council of Churches and National Council of Churches, because they consider them leftist organizations, since they appear to encourage social activism, civil disorder, rebellion and communism."⁵⁰

The Archbishop responded, but not in a direct way. He did not deny the charge. He, rather, emphasized the benefit which accrues to the Orthodox from the challenge. It is at once an answer and a call to theological study of the social and ethical issues of our times: "because of the activism or the crisis or the extreme positions taken by many churches in the World and National Council of Churches, we were better able to see the need to be vigilant and study the social, political, and moral problems of our times, to take a position in this regard, as set forth by Christ and His Bible".⁵¹

Twenty-Second Clergy-Laity Congress

The concluding paragraph of the keynote address to the 22nd Clergy-Laity Congress, held in Chicago in 1974 began with these words: "I am certain that you are asking: Is this the address of His Eminence?" The query is justified; this address was totally unlike any of those which had preceeded it. Rather than an assessment of progress or an outline of future plans, it was a closely reasoned theological essay on the theme of the 22nd Congress, "Be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind" (Rom. 12.2).⁵² A carefully reasoned exposition of the meaning of spiritual renewal for the life of the Greek Orthodox Church, it is a document of permanent significance. Any attempt to summarize it will not succeed, but in fact will tend to distort its spirit and movement. Moreover, this address had the spirit and movement not of the enthusiastic preacher, but of the serious, calm reflection of the careful theologian as he applies the truth of the Word of God with honesty to the reality

of the Church. As a theologian and professor, I recommend this document for study not only to my colleagues and students but also to every priest and conscientious lay person. In my judgment, it needs to be reprinted, with a new title, for general distribution.

Let it suffice to orient the reader to its major thesis. As an explanation of "be ye transformed" it calls for spiritual renewal not on an emotional level, but in the sphere of thought and the orientation of our human and ecclesial wills to the will of God and the mind of Christ. This means that the church and the parish must be seen as the Body of Christ, not an organization. The theme is then applied to topics such as "The Relationship of the Faithful to the Parish" (defined by living faith and communion with God and man); "The Head of the Parish" (bishops and priests as overseers of the spiritual welfare of the flock); "The Christian and Christ" (an unbroken relationship, permanent presence, an indestructable unity) and other such topics.

The treatment of "will" alluded to above is pertinent to ethical concerns. Throughout the talk there were references to social issues. Yet, it would take such references fully out of contest to present them as statements of social concern. They were only illustrations in the development of a very important theme for the whole life of the Church. There was, however, one passage which needs to be quoted which calls for theological study of the moral issues of our time. Let this section not only serve as evidence of the continuing and unbroken concern for social issues in this twenty-year period, but also as a sample to the reader of this notable document.

Study of Problems as a Christian Responsibility

All problems demand a logical categorization, and study according to priority. The effort toward a logical categorization we choose to call study of the problematic. However, a fair and objective study and weighing of problems can only be accomplished by an unprejudiced and enlightened mind, illuminated by the light of truth and faith. This mind St. Paul finds only in the spiritual man. And he means by this term, the man who follows or is led by the mind of Christ. This is precisely what is sought: a mind with the degree of logical function that would not permit it to confuse the finite with the infinite, the transcendental search with the tangible experience the 'revealed truth' with epistemological research, the human intellect with the wisdom of God

A Christian study and weighing of problems would first bring us actually face to face with moral problems. For example, we call

those subjects or problems which refer to or effect the morality of the faithful. They are generated or caused when human behavior knowingly ignores Christian ethics for which we often hear the foolish opinion expressed, that they are so perfect they are totally unattainable in an age dominated by modern moral standards. The problems which are presented in respect to moral order, can only be solved when we recognize the ethos as the strict criterion, or when we accord our conscience its role, not only of controller of our actions, but regulator as well. Therefore moral subjects for the Christian are all those from his disobedience to one's conscience and the correct judgment of the mind, and which permits the creation of a feeling which shocks his relationship with his conscience, God and his fellow man. It isn't necessary to specify the low status of these relationships, since we live their consequences: hypocrisy, insincerity, dishonesty, violence, insolence, disrespect, and their by-products—fear, destruction, crime, and corruption. Only on the wings of moral and spiritual strength does there remain a way for us to rise and be saved from our fall down the ladder of evil. For this reason our armor and weapons must be the panoply of God: truth, justice, peace, faith, supplication, vigilance, perseverance, boldness, and courage (Eph. 6.13-20), which from a subject of a sermon must become the demand and subject of our Congress. Hallucination and refutation, raving and parapsychic phenomena, contradiction and antinomy, which make up the thinking of our times, could be abolished but only when the human mind is reinstated within the framework of Christian logic and undergoes a complete and radical revision and renewal. The extreme emphasis which is placed on this need is made for solely one reason: the conscientious responsibility we have to definitely put an end to extravagant thinking and speaking and false reasoning which has become the 'logic of our times'. As a result of this 'new logic' we have witnessed in our times these unbelievable phenomena: the justification of violence, the 'perfect' crime becoming heroic, terrorism becoming a patriotic virtue, surreptitious stealing being exalted as an achievement, betrayal of national secrets is encouraged, the subversion of accepted precepts and beliefs by the people is considered a service to the people, character assassination remains unpunished, brainwashing becoming systematized, hedonism becoming a philosophy, pornography is being justified as the abolishment of hypocrisy, prohibition of prayer in schools is called a freedom, all the notions of our times, such as patriotism, the family and religion all are termed out-

moded and even the reasons for the decline and moral bankruptcy of our society.

These are not the only illogical results of the new logic. According to it, practically everything that up to now has been considered illegal practices, such as abortion, homosexuality, birth control measures, pre-marital free love, prostitution, witchcraft, black magic, idolatry, discord, adultery, heresies, and practically all unlawful actions, which in pain St. Paul enumerates in his Epistle to the Christians of Galatia (Gal. 5. 19-21), must be legalized.

All these are brought to your attention with a very uncomfortable feeling of inner affliction in order that you may see for yourselves how far we have been led off the track by these new concepts which influence both our minds and our actions, to the point that not only the accepted morality and order, but society itself and especially the life of our youth, find themselves in fatal danger.⁵³

The Twenty-Third Clergy-Laity Congress

The Bicentennial observance of the United States was marked by the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese with its 23rd Clergy-Laity Congress in Philadelphia during Independence Day Week, 1976. Appropriately, the Archbishop entitled his keynote address "The Challenge of 1976."⁵⁴ As might be expected, much of this keynote address was to focus on the meaning of the Bicentennial. Three principles—unity, liberty and trust in God—were used by the Archbishop to develop his theme. They gave him the opportunity to reiterate a strong respect for law and the view that sees most of the recent changes as harmful to society, as preludes to anarchy.

Those who would flout laws or rules or regulations always invent plausible reasons or arguments to justify the transgression, but in the last analysis they are not justified but condemned. Obedience to ecclesiastical or political statutes insures more rights than does their violation; above all it insures the right of amendment should it be required.

Whenever an attempt is made to alter the essence of a law or an established norm that has come to speak to the need and conscience of the believer or the citizen, the invariable result is to abrogate it or to supplant it with one that is ostensibly new but which in fact nullified what has stood. To provide some examples: by abolishing prayer in the schools; by removing purity from ethics; by doing legal violence against human nature itself through abortion and unnatural relations between the sexes—

far from having liberated man from prejudice and hypocrisy as some would have us believe, far from affirming his freedom and individuality, we have helped lay waste the worth of the human personality, for the preservation of which the two sacred books (the Old Testament and the New Testament) were written along with thousands of other books through the ages.⁵⁵

It was not clear from the context what called forth this strong concern. The previously detailed encyclicals and the previously delivered keynote addresses had been strongly supportive of equality and social justice. Yet these changes, it appears, had also raised up a general concern for the fabric of society. Perhaps it was the tendency to interpret the changes in the laws as occasions for individualistic exploitations of liberty, thus forgetting the organic and interrelatedness of our society. Whatever the case, the words were hard and strident.

The current attempt at a re-interpretation, or rather the arbitrary and flagrant misinterpretation of the United States Constitution or of Holy Scripture which in its essence is a charter of morality amounts to the total abrogation of concepts that have possessed the force of law for this nation throughout the 200 years of its existence, and for men of faith throughout the 2,000 years since the coming of Christ into the world. Already, this has led to lawlessness and anarchy as though a new law, a new charter, has been sanctioned that would re-order man's relations, not only to himself but to his fellowman, to society, and to religion. If in the third century of our nation's history which began yesterday this collective and individual effort persists: to tear down all legal and ethical defenses for human liberty, whether in the name of sexual equality, or greater social justice, or worse yet, man's emancipation from both mortal and divine law then we have good reason to fear that history will one day judge us as St. Paul judged the Romans saying, for although (we) knew God (we) did not honor him as God or give thanks to him, but (we) became futile in (our) thinking and (our) senseless minds were darkened. Claiming to be wise, (we) became fools...? (Romans 1,21-22)⁵⁶

In the balance of the address, there were a few passing comments on issues of social concern, such as the family (a constantly recurring theme), but the major thrust of the address was once again spiritual and concerned with intra-church issues. However, it is significant that in the final paragraph of this Bicentennial message the attention was turned once again to the proper address-

sing of moral concerns by the Church. The cautious and careful approach to the moral issues of our times was once again repeated. It was undoubtedly a word of caution to a nation which might have allowed its proper concern for justice to have degenerated into an uncontrolled libertarianism. Regardless, it served as evidence of a continuing concern with the social and moral issues facing our nation on its 200th anniversary.

Permit me at this point to observe that in matters of faith, which constitute the ethos and the nature and the essence of our Greek Orthodox way of life, we ought to be more judicious. In these issues of Christian faith and morals our personal interpretations have no place. We shall one day regret our flippancy and will receive a just retribution (Hebrews 2.3), to use the Apostle Paul's expression. And there can be no retribution more severe, for those of us who treat lightly matters of faith and morals, than to see our children abandoning their spiritual and cultural base, losing their bearings with reference to our precious and historic inheritance of the spirit which is the legacy of our Church and of our people. To echo one more admonition of Paul, counting it a sacred obligation to ourselves but also to the generations that will succeed us, Only let us hold true to what we have attained, and be of one mind (Phil.3.16).⁵⁷

The Twenty-Fourth Clergy-Laity Congress

The commitment of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, in the person of Archbishop Iakovos, to addressing and dealing with issues of social concern came to a high point in the keynote address to the 24th Clergy-Laity Congress of 1978 in Detroit, Michigan.⁵⁸

The theme of the Congress was "Be ye doers of the Word and not hearers only" (James 1.22). This most promising text for dealing with issues of Christian social ethics was not to remain unfulfilled despite the fact that, as the Archbishop announced, this 24th Congress was "not a mere continuation of past congresses. It is a Charter Congress."⁵⁹ The Detroit Congress adopted a new charter for the Archdiocese which established a synod of bishops, decentralizing much of the authority of the Church. One is not surprised to note that much of the address referred to the restructuring of the Archdiocese and its meaning. For the Archbishop, this new direction focused much more responsibility upon the local church, understood both as diocese and the parishes which

constitute it. Familiar themes are used to evoke the proper meaning of this new direction: unity (parish-diocese-archdiocese), spiritual life (unity with Christ), ecumenical vision as true Orthodoxy (as opposed to mere conservatism or 'Orthodox puritanism'), and finally struggle for growth and transformation of personal, church, and public life.

It is all the more remarkable that with the focus on the restructuring of the administrative life of the Archdiocese, this address came back again and again to broadly and narrowly conceived issues of social concern.

Thus, an early definition of the mission of the restructured church is presented in the context of the Kingdom of God in this nation. "The mission assigned to us by the Provident Father in Heaven, therefore, is to humbly labor together with all American believers, so that His Kingdom, a Kingdom of love and justice may come, and that His Will, aimed at substituting error with truth and perdition with salvation, may be done on earth by all, as it is in heaven."⁶⁰ Among the benefits of the restructuring which Archbishop Iakovos foresaw were several opportunities for personal and corporate growth by the Greek Orthodox faithful. He concluded his list of benefits to come from the restructuring with this expectation, indicating a concern with the social mission of the Church.

Finally, it enables us to cope with all situations on a local level—i.e. social, civic and political—and develop vitally new patterns and norms so essential for a direct confrontation with problems of a moral and ethical nature. This would contribute, as nothing else would, to the growth and expansion of the Orthodox Faith and Tradition.⁶¹

In a subsequent section, he underlined the problems which the restructuring presented to the congress for solution. This afforded the opportunity to the forward-looking hierarch to launch into an involved expression of concern for the contact of the Church with the "intellectual, moral and social problems which surround us." This statement was of significance for the relation it occupied to the whole of the address. The original transcript covered slightly more than twenty-seven pages. The statement below was included in three full pages. When one considers the context, the focus on the inner reorganization of the structure of the Archdiocese, three full pages bore solid witness to the depth of conviction of the Archbishop to the issues of social concern. Though critical, even condemnatory, the Archbishop encouraged his church to come to grips with the perspective. Moreover, he concluded with hope,

believing that the truth of the faith, when correctly applied to the social problems of our times can find and implement the solutions. In this writer's opinion, care and attention is due this passage as the Church enters the decade of the eighties.

Another problem which I am afraid will be with us for a long time is whether or not we can cope with our ever-changing society which, under the influence of new scientific findings and the impact of the so-called situational ethics and 'new morality' puts to test the values and principles which we profess to believe. Are we to yield and abandon them thereby accepting the new situation, or are we fortified with such knowledge and experience so as to resist and fight? To be more clear and precise, I refer to the intellectual, moral and social problems which surround us, pressing our minds and our hearts for answers, while forcing us to judge for ourselves whether or not we are truly victims of antedated, anachronistic and obsolete beliefs, or the defenders of the changeless values of Christianity against attempts by modern quasi-ethics to unseat spirituality and moral sensitivity from the place they have occupied for centuries as the molders of our ethos and the fashioners of human behaviour.

The problems of today, as we all know, range from the materialistic and technological or physiological concept of life, to its mystical and extra-sensory perception, from a theory which would reduce or eliminate child birth through the legalization of contraceptives and abortion—born from a concern for mankind as a result of the population explosion—to a noble and lofty interest in ecology which concerns itself with the preservation of even the lowest form of animal and vegetable life; from the equal rights amendment, to sexual and child abuse; from the beautiful goals of UNICEF and Youth Year, to child prostitution; from scientific research to prolong human life, to street and park and subway crime; from an effort to modernize and perfect education, to the license to protect the rights of those who have made obscenity and pornography a lucrative industry; from an effort to strengthen the arm of the judiciary, to its abolishment as cruel and inhuman; from the declaration that all men are created equal and free, to the defense of those who have no regard for human rights and dignity or freedom; finally, from the belief that violators of the law should be censured, impeached and severely punished, to the practice of clemency which returns evil-doers to society, particularly the rapists, the burglars, the drug peddlers and the killers.

The problem of how to meet and resolve these problems—which are problems of inconsistency, contradiction, and antinomy between words and deeds and between conscience and actual behavior—will have to stay with us until the day when American Christians wake up, realize their impotence and find their way back to the never-exhausted spring-well of and ever-new and refreshing spiritual power, i.e. God and His Will and Word, as it is recorded in the Bible and in the annals of Christian, Greek and American history and experience. Those who claim that the clock can not be turned back would do well to take a good, long hard look at the appearance of modern men and women and to their situational ethics, as attested to by their moral license, their lust, their greed, and their lack of respect for human life, property, honor and welfare. Because of the history of their Church, Orthodox believers should not allow themselves self-aquittal and by the same token, condemn someone else, whether it be society or those at the service of mankind, i.e. educators, clergy, politicians or civic leaders. A similar reaction to the problems would indict us as doers of a double injustice, both to ourselves as well as to others. For God has endowed all and deprived none, of logic, judgement and the ability to self-examine and self-control. Furthermore, God gave to His people a Charter, the value of which cannot be challenged, i.e. the Bible—that book of human aspiration and inspiration and prophets and apostles and martyrs and confessors—from whom to choose their example for emulation and perfection.

Orthodox believers who find themselves confronted with such perplexing and unresolved problems, should exercise more prudence and show greater maturity. If instead of groaning and moaning for the alleged indifference that God, Church and Society display, they should choose to search and find within their minds and souls the ability to better understand these problems.

For I believe and together with you, that the compassionate understanding and the proper approach of a problem leads, as nothing else does, to its solution. Such an approach, besides helping a given problematic situation, would uplift our soul and spirit and change our agony into ecstasy, and our worries into true rejoicing.⁶²

The issue, however, of concern for social problems was not dropped as the talk proceeded. In the area of inter-Orthodox co-operation, the Archbishop called for joint study committees to

deal with a variety of problems, including the "moral problems common to all."⁶³ But he did not restrict this concern to study: ". . . we must also concern ourselves with our Orthodox brothers throughout the World, and do all we can to assist them in their fight against inhumanity, oppression and persecution."⁶⁴ There were additional references to social concern in the keynote address. One was a positive statement on the meaning of commitment to country. This definition, in the spirit of the motto of the conference included the conviction that we are "to do everything that would contribute to its spiritual, moral, political and social welfare."⁶⁵

The epilogue of this address made an appeal for world peace and for the strengthening of American family life. It also included a call to three commitments: commitment to increased Christian social action wherever and whenever the trumpet calls, be it Constantinople, Greece, Cyprus, Lebanon, Israel, the Arab countries, Rhodesia, South Africa or Eastern Europe; commitment to protest unwise or harmful use of authority and commitment to protect those who suffer because of it, rallying all our moral and spiritual forces in defense of their rights.⁶⁶

Thus, ten clergy-laity congresses provide a substantial amount of evidence for an ongoing tradition of concern for social issues. Hardly a keynote address has been without reference to social concerns. A careful student will note affirmations and concern which remain unchanging. It is possible as well to perceive changed emphases, even levels, of confidence and hope. But what the evidence abundantly supports is the conclusion that social concerns have had a permanent place in the keynote addresses of Archbishop Iakovos to the clergy-laity congresses of his church.

NOTES

The intent of this article is to present archival and other material not readily available in English for the study of the moral and social concerns of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. Consequently, extensive quotations are used not only for illustrative purposes, but primarily as resource material for use by students of ethics and those concerned with the history of Eastern Orthodox Christianity in the Americas.

1. See Exetastes, *Contemporary Issues* (New York, 1976).
2. Archives, Mimeographed typescript translated from the Greek text, pp. 16-18.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

4. Archives, Mimeographed typescript. "The Message of Archbishop Iakovos. Before the First General Assembly of the Sixteenth Congress of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. Boston, MA., June 25, 1962," pp. 1-2.

5. Ibid., pp. 6-11.

6. Ibid., p. 7.

7. Ibid., p. 3.

8. Ibid., p. 35.

9. Ibid., p. 37.

10. Archives, "Prelude," mimeographed text.

11. Ibid., p. 2.

12. Ibid., pp. 3, 4.

13. Ibid., p. 5.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., p. 11.

16. Ibid., p. 40.

17. Archives, "Archbishop's Address to the Eighteenth Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress of North and South America. Montreal; June 27, 1966."

18. Ibid., p. 1.

19. Ibid., p. 2.

20. Ibid., p. 3.

21. Ibid., p. 7.

22. Ibid., p. 8.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., pp. 8-9.

25. Ibid., p. 9.

26. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

27. *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Clergy-Laity Congress of the Communities of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, Athens, July 20-21, 1968.*

28. Ibid., pp. 34-44.

29. Ibid., p. 34.

30. Ibid., pp. 35-36.

31. Ibid., pp. 43-44.

32. Ibid., p. 36.

33. Ibid., p. 38.

34. Ibid., p. 37.

35. Ibid., p. 41.

36. Ibid., p. 44.

37. Ibid., p. 43.

38. Ibid., p. 40.

39. *Towards the Decade 1970-1980: Keynote Address by His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos to the Delegates of the 20th Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, June 29, 1970.* Offset typescript text.

40. Ibid., pp. 4-5.

41. Ibid., p. 5.

42. Ibid., p. 16.

43. Ibid., pp. 16-19.

44. Ibid., pp. 20-21.

45. *The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 21st Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress, July 1-8, 1972, Rice Hotel, Houston, Texas. A commentary on the Congress Topics, by Archbishop Iakovos.* Offset typescript text.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-34.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 25. The Greek text precedes the English text.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

52. *Decisions of the 22nd Clergy-Laity Congress of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America in Chicago, Illinois, June 30-July 7, 1974.* pp. 116-25.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 122-23. It should be noted that in addition to the keynote address another address was also delivered by Archbishop Iakovos entitled "Along the Shores of Our Concerns" which treated with many of the usual keynote address topics. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-15. Here, Watergate and the need for "purifying the much polluted atmosphere of the nation" (p. 111). There is a new familiar litany of the moral ills of the times (p. 112); an extensive treatment of the sanctity of the body (p. 113) and appeals for actions (pp. 114-115).

54. *Decisions of the 23rd Clergy-Laity Congress of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America in Philadelphia, PA., July 2-9, 1976.* p. 123.

55. *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

58. *Keynote Address delivered by His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, 24th Biennial Congress, July 1-8, 1978, Detroit, MI.* Offset text.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-18.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

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SOME REFLECTIONS ON PHILOXENOS' CHRISTOLOGY

According to Theodore the Lector¹, Philoxenos was born in Persia about 440 and educated at the School of Edessa.

His name Philoxenos or Xenaïas is an exact translation of the Syrian name Aksenaya and denotes monastic affiliation.² His parents were converted to the Christian faith early in his childhood. The information of his opponents that he was originally a fugitive slave and unbaptized is a legend as can be seen from his extant writings which have been published. Besides, Philoxenos seems to support infant baptism as the normal practice of his times.³

Philoxenos was considerably influenced by Greek culture and the Greek Church Fathers. True, he did not preach or write in Greek, but he knew how to read and possibly speak in Greek. His letters to the monks of Qartamin and Teleda, written in Greek, confirm the latter point.

Philoxenos played a central role in the Trisagion controversy by being invited twice in 484 and 508 by the Byzantine emperors Zeno and Anastasios to Constantinople in order to defend the Church of Antioch and its Monophysitism. His embassy was successful and resulted in the restoration of the Patriarch of Antioch, Peter the Fuller, to his office. Philoxenos was rewarded by being elevated by the Patriarch to the bishopric of Mabbug (485). Peter himself was Monophysite and perhaps the originator of the Theopaschite formula ("who was crucified for us") in the liturgical Trisagion.

Mabbug (Hierapolis) was located about 160 km. northeast of Antioch, on the route connecting Babylon with the Mediterranean through Seleucia, Nisibis, Edessa, Berroia and Antioch. Mabbug was a prosperous city thanks to its fertile soil, and especially to its commerce and industry of craftsmanship. In the second half of the fourth century Mabbug was an administrative, military and religious capital of the province of Euphratesia and a diocese of the Orient. Beginning in the sixth century it became a metropolis with twelve bishops under its supervision. Civilly, it was administered by a prefect assisted by a duke who was in charge of the defense

of oriental borders and frontiers. Because of frequent hostilities with the Sassanid empire, during the period from the fourth to the beginning of the sixth century, Mabbug became a frontier city of great military importance and the general headquarters of mobilization of the Roman army in the Orient. Its Hellenistic name Hierapolis or "holy city" is derived from its religious importance and ancient tradition that it was the center of the cult of Atargatis, the Syrian goddess of fertility. After Mabbug's Christianization its patron saints were Peter and Paul and not far from its wall there was a tomb of Matthew the evangelist.⁴

Philoxenos' relations with the civil and military authorities of Mabbug were not very cordial. Besides, his predecessor Alexander was a very bitter anti-Cyrillian. It must be noted, however, that Philoxenos's attitude, at least in the beginning of his episcopal career, was rather conciliatory and pacific.

It is to Philoxenos' credit that in only twenty years the whole province of Euphratesia which was strongly anti-Cyrillian and Nestorian, became Monophysite. Philoxenos had exercised considerable influence upon the religious policy of the Byzantine emperors Zeno (d. 491) and Anastasios (d. 518) in the Orient. However, during the episcopate of Flavian of Antioch (498-508), Philoxenos had to struggle unceasingly against his embittered opposition. In this long-lasting and dramatic conflict Zeno's philomonophysite Henotikon occupied the most important place and was Philoxenos' stronghold against Flavian's Nestorianism. Besides, Anastasios' main objective in being friendly to the oriental Monophysites was to preserve unity and internal peace in the empire. Actually, Philoxenos accused Flavian of being an anti-unionist and an opponent of the emperor.⁵ With the death of Anastasios (518), however, and the restoration of friendly relations between his successor Justin⁶ and the Papal See another page of troubles and hostilities was opened in Philoxenos' career (519-523). Philoxenos, already old, had to experience a painful exile in Philippoupolis of Thrace together with Severus, by imperial orders (July of 519). The letters which Philoxenos sent from his exile to the monks of Senoun and to Symeon of Teleda are our main sources of valuable information concerning the unhealthy conditions of his exile and the last years of his life and Christological thought.⁷

Philoxenos died in 523 after many hardships and struggles, but he had lived a productive life.

Writings

The writings of Philoxenos can be classified under three general headings: exegesis, theology, monastic spirituality. Among them the most important are his commentaries on Matthew, Luke, and John,⁸ his Book of Sentences,⁹ the volume against Habib,¹⁰ his discourses on the Christian life,¹¹ his homilies,¹² and his correspondence.

Unfortunately, most of his writings and letters still remain in manuscript form and only fragments of his basic dogmatic works have been published and even these are not easily accessible.

The major Christological ideals of Philoxenos can be found in his commentaries on John, Matthew, and Luke and in his dogmatic letters related to his struggle against Flavian of Antioch. A detailed and critical description of the manuscripts of the commentaries can be found in the work of A. de Halleux.¹³ Philoxenos' treatises on the Trinity and Incarnation have been published partially by A. Vaschalde,¹⁴ M. Brière,¹⁵ and E.A.W. Budge.¹⁶ Part of Philoxenos' correspondence has been published by A. Vaschalde,¹⁷ A. Vööbus,¹⁸ A. de Halleux,¹⁹ and J. Lebon.²⁰

Doctrinal Views

Philoxenos accepts without question the principle of unity of Christ's two natures without confusion. He is not therefore Monophysite in the strict sense of the word. However, he believes deeply in the Christological definition which emphasizes the immutability, absolute transcendence, autonomy, and priority of Christ's divinity. Hence, the most common terms in Philoxenos' Christology are *ἐνανθρώπησις* (inhumanation) and *ἐνσάρκωσις* (incarnation).

The highest norm of authority for him is the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed. Chalcedon seemed to Philoxenos in opposition to Ephesos' statement by which change or adoption of a new creed was prohibited. Obviously, Philoxenos considered the Chalcedonian terminology a Nestorian anthropolatrea. He extensively uses Athanasios, Theophilos, the two Gregories, Cyril and especially Ephraim. Above all, he uses the New Testament which is, according to his faith, the complete revelation of Christological mystery, of which the creed is just an explanation. In the New Testament Philoxenos finds a clear reference to the unity of

Christ's natures,²¹ his descent from heaven,²² his incarnation,²³ his 'inhumanation',²⁴ his birth by the Spirit from the Virgin.²⁵ He cites most frequently John, Luke, Matthew and Paul and the revelation of the Annunciation.²⁶ He particularly emphasizes the Logos-Sarx Christology of John which he considers as the cornerstone of the economy of the Incarnation.²⁸

Philoxenos characterizes the neo-Chalcedonians as semi-Nestorians holding that the dyophysite Christology is equivalent to the doctrine of *homo assumptus* and inhabitation and as such directly contrary to his theology of becoming or *γένεσις*.²⁹ Their Christology, in the thought of Philoxenos, changes the meaning of the Johannine passage from: "The Word became flesh and dwelt in us" to : "A flesh was formed, and the Word dwelt in it"! The last meaning is of Apollinarian overtones, hence Philoxenos rejects the idea of assumption or inhabitation categorically. He also rejects any pre-existence of Christ's flesh. On the contrary, he explicitly states that Christ's humanity was assumed at the right moment of the Annunciation simultaneously with Mary's conception, the Word remaining God without any change nor confusion.³⁰

The divine initiative and condescension of kenosis³¹ together with scriptural expressions of God's personal engagement in the incarnation and mission,³¹ Christ's arrival in the world,³² his descent from heaven,³⁴ in the womb of the Virgin³⁵ affirm the absolutely temporal simultaneity of Christ's incarnation and conception although the kenosis was a prerequisite of the incarnation in the sense that he came to the Virgin before he was conceived and incorporated in her.³⁶

In the Virgin's womb God as well as man was contained totally. How? Philoxenos does not attempt to explain the reality of faith. It is certain, however, that he is far from Docetism (Phantasiasts) and Theopaschism—the two greatest dangers of Monophysitism—which he carefully avoids by emphasizing unity in the incarnation without change, confusion or amalgamation neither of the divine nor of the human nature. The formula "out of two natures" (Diskoros) might be accepted so long as all idea of a pre-existent humanity in the union of the Word and his flesh was excluded. Humanity being enhypostasized or en-natured, to borrow the terminology of St. Basil, it could thus be said that God himself suffered and died for man's salvation. The incarnation renewed

and regenerated man: "He who is God by nature really became man and in himself created the nature of man anew."³⁷ These views of Philoxenos "were buttressed with a greater use of scriptural text than Severos was wont to make, and were combined with a rabidly puritanical outlook demonstrated in his moral and ethical treatises, intense hatred of Leo and Chalcedon, and a consciousness of Syriac culture that inspired him to initiate a new translation of the Bible into Syriac."³⁸

Now, human nature is assumed by the Word through his hypostatic incorporation in the Virgin's flesh.³⁹ Thus, the Word assumes humanity through incorporation, and becomes man by assuming human nature.⁴⁰ The process of assuming human nature is necessary only in order to avoid Docetism or any possibility of change in God's essence.

The immutability of God's essence in becoming man is supported by three arguments in Philoxenos' Christology: the argument of God's eternity, perfection, and man's need to be recreated after his fall, since the deepest meaning and intention of the Incarnation is recreation of man's original nature and more than that, i.e. divinization—theosis. God, existing by himself eternally, is not in any personal need of becoming. He becomes man, however, because of his loving care for his creatures who were not able and needed to recreate themselves.⁴¹ The mutability of God's essence would presuppose the satisfaction of a need of God himself, restoration of a defect of his own being. This, of course, was not the case in the incarnation, the benefits of which were intended totally for man.⁴² Furthermore, since God became man by his will and not by his nature, no change was possible in his essence.⁴³ In the opinion of Beck, this distinction between the divine nature and will Philoxenos could adopt from St. Ephraim. Such a distinction overthrows the gnostic dualism and affirms free will in the creator's action.⁴⁴ Thus, the term becoming man refers to the will of the Logos-God, and immutability to his nature.⁴⁵ What Philoxenos tries to emphasize is the point that God was absolutely free and immutable even after his incarnation, since his divine and not human nature was the essence of his freedom.⁴⁶

It is interesting to note that Philoxenos clearly teaches that the concept of incarnation pre-existed eternally in God's nature and will. Consequently, it did not cause any change in his will or in his essence. Christ's hypostasis is contemporaneous with his generation from the Father. Therefore, his willingness to incarnate was

also contemporaneous with his hypostasis, since the will of the Word is not opposed to his nature and the will of becoming man was predetermined simultaneously with his eternal hypostatic being.⁴⁷

This discussion of the divine nature and will, viz., God's eternity, perfection, and economy is of crucial importance to Philoxenos and holds the central place in his entire theology.

The Philoxenian Christology might be summarized in one expression: one hypostasis of the divine nature or of the trinitarian nature, which reminds one of the Cyrillian formula: "one nature of God-Logos incarnated." The intention of such a Monophysite statement is of course to reject the Nestorian adoration of Christ's humanity as a new god, a second nature, and a fourth hypostasis in Trinity!⁴⁸

A. de Halleux strongly believes that:

Philoxène ne met pas de différence entre la 'terminologie technique' de la formule christologique monophysite et celle de la théologie trinitaire traditionnelle. Cette observation capitale engage toute l'appréciation du monophysitisme philoxénien, car on entrevoit déjà que, dans l'«économie», le concept christologique de nature ne sera pas plus formellement synonyme de celui d'hypostase qu'il ne l'est dans la 'théologie'.⁴⁹

However, Philoxenos is radically against Docetism, Eutychianism, and Apollinarianism since he is never doubtful about the objective reality, perfection, and completeness of Christ's human nature. Hence, the most common Christological terms in Philoxenos as well as in Syrian Monophysitism are: incorporation, incarnation, inhumanation,⁵⁰ with emphasis on the rational principle and will of man's nature.⁵¹

Philoxenos may be characterized as perfectly Orthodox in respect to the soteriological overtones of Johannine Logos-Sarx Christology. Philoxenos is especially anti-Apollinarian in his emphasis on the rational soul and will of Christ's human nature for a complete and perfect manhood. A mysterious paradox; No, I think not, since Philoxenos never employs the numeral one to indicate Christ's individual nature.⁵³ Furthermore, the terms nature and hypostasis in Philoxenos' Christology are identical. They designate one and the same individual being, one and the same person or personality, that is. In this sense, Christ's humanity is not an hypostasis, i.e. a particular, independent or individual human person, but common

human nature incorporated in his divinity for soteriological purposes.⁵⁴ Therefore, Christ's humanity does *not* add a second nature nor a second hypostasis to his person. Philoxenos' Christological thought is that of Cyril of Alexandria *Mia physis tou Theou Logou sesarkomene* but also one hypostasis according to Philoxenos.⁵⁵

On the other hand, Philoxenos does not reject the dyophysite formula, *ex duabus naturis*. On the contrary, he even supports it in the sense that it illustrates the true incorporation of God-Logos in human nature without confusion.⁵⁶ Such a concession on the part of Philoxenos may stem from his high respect to Dioskoros' orthodoxy. Philoxenos does not hesitate to call Christ *synthetos* (composite) in respect to His two natures and in contrast to the simplicity of a pure spirit.⁵⁷ Christ's identity, however, is a permanent and stronger identity than the synthesis of an individual, since His divinity is eternal and unique.⁵⁸

Philoxenos' Christology does not explain the manner of union of the two natures in Christ. The Damascenian notion of *perichoresis* or radical interpenetration of Christ's divinity and humanity in one perfect but not confused unity, is not known to him. This union or unity in his thought, however, is not numerical, but oneness of divine nature and hypostasis.⁵⁹ Before the union it is possible to speak of two natures numerically. But after the union we can do so only when we intend to distinguish the different natures as united without confusion and change.⁶⁰ There is no ontological separation of the two natures in Christ.⁶¹ This unity and distinction of the two natures in Christ is viewed by Philoxenos as unity and distinction of two total and indivisible aspects of the same Being, as two principles or points of view according to which or in reference to which he exists, namely that the same Being is perfect God-Logos in respect to his divinity and nature and perfect man in respect to his incarnation and corporeal becoming.⁶²

Philoxenos compares the union (*henosis*) of two natures in Christ with the union of the soul and body⁶³ in order to emphasize the substantial and intimate Christological union not an abstract intellectual or contemplative union—*theoria* (Severos of Antioch).

In conclusion, I would like to stress the point that, Philoxenos' bitter opposition to Nestorians and Dyophysites springs from their understanding of Christ's humanity as an hypostasis and independent nature. Such an understanding in Philoxenos' thought causes a menace to the divine work of salvation because it makes Christ's

humanity an individual not representative man and consequently Savior of only an individual and not of all men.⁶⁴ It seems that the importance of the soteriological factor in the Monophysite Christology in general and in Philoxenos' Christology in particular, has been underestimated by ancient as well as by modern Dyophysite theologians. Hence, their overemphasis on perhaps the most striking paradox of Philoxenos' Christology expressed in his often repeated statement that Jesus' passion and crucifixion applies not to his divinity but to his humanity although even his humanity was impassible as his divinity and free from all passions of human soul and body, since he had never sinned.⁶⁵ Jesus, however, died actually, willingly, and not apparently (Docetism), as human flesh, as the New Adam and Savior.⁶⁶ His passions were not necessitated from fallen nature but from his free redemptive will. The impassibility and immutability of his divinity restores through his incarnation human nature to its pre-fallen condition.⁶⁷ Christ's humanity, that is to say, is not impassible *per se*, but because it was freely submitted to and united with his divinity, freely subjugating itself to suffering.

In other words, Christ's humanity played an active soteriological role. Its suffering and passions were a redemptive must. However, salvation is not an automatic process through baptism but rather the reward of unceasing personal struggle and effort to imitate Christ's life and perfection.⁶⁸

Christ experienced death as a human, but also he truly died as God—a more powerful victor than the Satan-death, just as he was born God from the Theotokos.⁶⁹ Philoxenos utilizes the argument of Mary's divine maternity frequently in order to prove God's death, freely and willingly, i.e., that the Jesus-God who was born supernaturally was also the same Jesus-God who died on the cross and resurrected supernaturally.⁷⁰

Philoxenos categorically rejects both Theopaschism and Docetism by attributing Christ's death not to his nature but to his divine will.⁷¹ This thought precisely provides Philoxenos with the theological justification of his doctrine of God's death on the cross. Of course, there is no contradiction between the divine will and nature but the flesh of his incarnation by which he could die physically.⁷² It might be said in Philoxenos' words that, in Jesus on the cross God died but had remained alive in His death since He never ceased to be God. Or, in other words, he died without giving up his divine nature in his death.⁷³ Philoxenos tries to explain this

mystery of God's death on the cross, by comparing it with the death of a human being, i.e. departure of soul or her separation from the body.⁷⁴ He tries to emphasize that Christ's death was absolutely real, that is, his spirit or soul and his body were really separated from each other. That death was immortal, on the other hand, since God the Word did not give up his body and his soul, but both of them were revived because of their hypostatic and natural union with the Life itself: "Christ gave up his spirit to the hands of his Father, but not his divinity; it was our [human] nature that he gave back to the hands of his Father on the cross."⁷⁵

NOTES

1. Theodore the Lector, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2; Mansi, 13. 180D.
2. A. de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog: sa vie, ses écrits, sa théologie* (Louvain, 1963), pp. 9-12.
3. Ibid., p. 16, note 37.
4. Ibid., pp. 41-42.
5. Ibid., p. 58, n. 53.
6. On Justin's reign and religious policy see the basic work of A.A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), esp. 132-253.
7. A de Halleux, *Nouveaux textes inédits de Philoxène de Mabbog. II: Lettre aux moines orthodoxes d'Orient*, in *Le Muséon* 76(1963) 5-26 & Vol. 75(1962) 31-62; *Lettre aux moines de Senoun* in C.S.C.O., 231(232)=Syr. 98(99) (Louvain, 1963). Cp. J. Lebon, in *Le Muséon* 43(1930) 17-84.
8. J.W. Watt (ed.), *Philoxenus of Mabbog, Fragments of the Commentary on Matthew and Luke*, 1978 (C.S.O. 9=Syr. 171,172).
9. A. Vaschalde (ed.), *Philoxeni Mabbugensis tractatus tres de Trinitate et incarnatione* (C.S.C.O. 9=Syr. II, 27), Paris 1907.
10. M. Brière (ed.), *Sancti Philoxeni episcopi Mabbugensis dissertationes decem de uno et sancta Trinitate incorporato et passo. Diss. I et II*, in *PO* 15 (1927) 439-542.
11. E.A.W. Budge (ed.), *Philoxenus' Thirteen Discourses on the Christian Life*, 2 vols. (London, 1893-94).
12. E. Lemoine (ed.), *Philoxène de Mabboug, Homélies. Introduction, traduction et notes* (*Sources chrétiennes*, 44), Paris, 1956.
13. A. de Halleux, pp. 134-62.
14. A. Vaschalde (ed.), *Tractatus tres de Trinitate et Incarnatione*, with Latin translation, in C.S.C.O. 9, *Scriptores Syri*, Ser.2, 27 (Paris and Rome, 1907).
15. *Dissertationes Decem de Uno et Sancta Trinitate Incorporato et Passo*, ed., with Latin translation by M. Brière, in *PO* 15(1927) 439-542.
16. *Philoxenus' Thirteen Discourses on the Christian Life*, ed. with English trans. by E.A.W. Budge, 2 vols. (London, 1893-94).
17. A. Vaschalde, *Three Letters of Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbogh (485-519): Catholic Univ. of America Diss. for the Degree of Doct. of Philos.*, Rome, 1902.
18. A. Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents Regarding Legislation Relative to Syrian Asceticism: Papers of the Estonian Theolog. Society in Exile*, 11 (Stockholm, 1960), pp. 51-54.

19. A. de Halleux, *Nouveau texts inédites de Philoxène de Mabbog I: Lettre aux moines de Palestine; Lettre liminaire au synodicon d'Ephèse*, in *Le Muséon* 75 (1963) 31-62; II: *Lettre aux moines orthodoxes d'Orient*, in *Le Muséon* 76(1963) 5-26; *Lettre aux moines de Senoun*, in C.S.C.O., 231= Syr. 98, Louvain 1963.

20. J. Lebon, *Textes inédits de Philoxène de Mabboug*, *Le Muséon* 43(1930) 17-84 and 149-220.

21. 1 Cor. 8.6.

22. John 3.13.

23. John 1.14.

24. Gal. 4.4.

25. Matt. 1.18-20.

26. *Commentary on John*, 1.1-17, f. 30v-34v.

27. John 1.14.

28. *Book of sentences*, 3.1, p. 172.

29. See *Confess. statement to Zeno*, p. 165; *Letter to the monks of Télieda*, 1, pp. 462-65; *Letter to monks of Bet-Gogal*, 1, pp. 148-49; *Commentary on John*, 1.1-17, f. 165v-167v; *Book of sentences*, 2.2, p. 52; 3.5, pp. 239-40.

30. *Commentary on John*, 1, 1-17; *Book of sentences*, 2.3, pp. 57-58, 95-98; 3.3, 209-14.

31. Phil. 2.7.

32. Gal. 4.4.

33. John 1.11.

34. John 3.13.

35. Luke 1.35.

36. Cp. *Bk. of sentences*, 2.37-38; 2.6, 99; 3.1, 176-79.

37. *Three Letters of Philoxenus*, ed. Vaschalde, p. 38.

38. W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*. Cambridge: University Press, 1972, p. 215. See also R.C. Chesnut, *Three Monophysite Christologies: Severus of Antioch, Philoxenus of Mabboug, & Jacob of Sarug* (London, 1976).

39. *Commentary on John*, 1.1-17, f. 110r-v.

40. *Ibid.*, f. 21v, 188r.

41. *Ibid.*, f. 115v, *Bk. of sentences*, 2.4, 64.

42. *Ibid.*, 1.1-17, f. 12r-13r; *Bk. of sentences*, 2.3, 56-57; 2.4, 62.

43. Cf. *Book of sentences*, 2.4, 68.

44. See E. Beck, "Philoxeneos und Ephäm," in *Oriens Christianus* 46(1962) 63-64, 67, 69; *Id.*, *Die Theologie des hl. Ephraem in seinen Hymnen über den Glauben*, Vatican: *Studia Anselmiana*, 21, 1949, pp. 14-15, 105; *Id.*, *Ephraems Reden über dem Glauben. Ihr theologischer Lehrgehalt und ihr geschichtlicher Rahmen* (Rome: *Studia Anselmiana*, 33, 1953), pp. 35, 66-67.

45. *Commentary on John*, 1.1-17; *Book of sentences*, 2.4, 68-70; 2.6, 98-99.

46. *Book of sentences*, 2.4, 66-67; 3.4, 230.

47. *Commentary on John*, 1.1-17, *Book of sentences*, 1, p. 29.

48. This is the classical argument of Monophysite polemics which Philoxenos also uses very frequently: *Profess. to Zeno*, p. 172; *Letter to monks of Bet-Gogal*, 2, f. 41ra-b; *Bk. of sentences*, 3.5, 266-67.

49. A. de Halleux, pp. 362-63.

50. Gal. 4.4.

51. *Commentary on John*, 1.1-17, f. 183r; *Bk. of sentences*, 2.38; *Letter to the monks of Senoun*, 56-57; *Commentary on Luke*, 1.35.
52. *Book of sentences*, 2.2, p. 55; *Commentary on Luke*, 2.52, f.
53. *Book of sentences*, 3.5, p. 269; *Letter to the monks of Senoun*, p. 4.
54. *Letter to the monks of Senoun*, pp. 40-41; *Book of sentences*, 3.1, p. 168; 3.5, 240-243.
55. *Profess. to Zeno*, p. 166; *Book of sentences*, 2.2, 51-52; 2, p. 39; 3.5, p. 267; *Twenty chapters*, 3, 4, pp. 125, 126-27; *Letter to the monks of Senoun*, pp. 55-57, 63-64, 67; *Letter to the monks of Bet-Gogal*, 1, p. 154.
56. *Commentary on John*, 1.1-17, f. 48v-49v, 186v; *Bk. of sentences*, 3.1, pp. 180-81; *Letter to the monks of Senoun*, pp. 55-58, 65-67.
57. *Letter to the monks of Senoun*, p. 55; *Commentary on John*, 1.1-17.
58. *Commentary on John*, 1.1-17, f. 180 v; *Book of sentences*, 3.2, p. 192; 3.5, pp. 257-260.
59. *Book of sentences*, 2.3, 50-51; 3.5, 251; *Letter to the monks of Senoun*, pp. 56-57, 64; *Commentary on John*, 1.1-17, f.
60. *Book of sentences*, 2.8, p. 151; *Letter to the monks of Senoun*, p. 65; *Bk. of sentences*, 3.2, 199, 202.
61. *Commentary on John*, 1.1-17, f. 81v; *Book of sentences*, 2.8, 138-39; 3.1, p. 175.
62. *Book of sentences*, 2.3, p. 62; 3.1, p. 175; 3.2, p. 194; 3.5, p. 251.
63. *Commentary on John*, 1. 1-17, f. 55r-56v, 189r; *Book of sentences*, 2.3, p. 56; 3, pp. 196, 199.
64. *Book of sentences*, 2.7, 131-32; 3.5, 242-43.
65. 1 Peter 2.22. *Commentary on John*, 20.17, 286; 3.13.
66. John 10.18. *Commentary on John*, 3.13, f. 216va; 20, 17, 260-61.
67. *Commentary on John*, 1.1-17, *Book of sentences*, 1, p. 4; 3.1, p. 185; *Letter to Patricius*, f. 39vb-40ra; 63rb; *Letter to the monks of Senoun*, p. 71.
68. *Letter to Patricius*, f. 51rb-53vb; 58rb-61rb.
69. *Profess. to Zeno*, 171-72; *Book of sentences*, 3.1, 160-61.
70. Cp. *Dogmatic letter to monks*, p. 139; *Letter to monks of Téléda*, 1, 461-63.
71. *Dogmatic letter to monks*, p. 138; *Letter to monks of Téléda*, 1, p. 469; *Book of sentences*, 2.7, 127-28.
72. *On the Trisagion*, fragm. 2-3, f. 75r a-b; *Profess. to Zeno*, 170-72; *Letter to the monks of Téléda*, 1, 469-77, 493.
73. *Letter to the monks of Téléda*, 1, p. 493.
74. *Commentary on John*, 1, 1-17, f. 183r; 2.19, f. 23v.
75. *Prof. to Zeno*, 170-71; *Letter to the monks of Téléda*, 1, 477-78, 490, 492; *Comment. on John*, 1.1-17, f. 183v; *Letter to the monks of Senoun*, 57-58.

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**ST. BASIL, 'CHRISTIAN HUMANIST'
OF THE 'THREE HIERARCHS' AND
PATRON SAINT OF GREEK LETTERS**

In the mid-eleventh century at the Byzantine court of Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos, an argument was in progress over the question of who were the most significant of the Orthodox Church Fathers. Was it the three great Cappadocians, Basil and the two Gregory's of Nazianzos and Nyssa, or was it perhaps one or two of these, together with Athanasios, John Chrysostom, or even Origen. The decision of the assembly was the selection of Sts. Basil, Gregory of Nazianzos, and John Chrysostom, the latter perhaps the most perennially popular of all the Greek Fathers. These three highly respected bishops and theologians of the patristic Church, being thus deemed to have done more for the welfare of the Christian Church than any others, were proclaimed *Ekumenikoi Didaskaloi*. And thereafter, Basil, Bishop of Caesarea in Asia Minor, his intimate friend Gregory of Nazianzos, and the golden-mouthed preacher John Chrysostom, native of Antioch and later patriarch of Constantinople, would be forever officially known to the Orthodox Church as 'The Three Hierarchs.'

Of all the Church Fathers, Gregory of Nazianzos in Cappadocia was from early times alone accorded the title of 'The Theologian,' an accolade he apparently received not so much for the profundity of his theological thought—in which he was actually excelled by Origen and Gregory of Nyssa—as for his ability to put into sublime rhetorical form the dogmas of the church proclaimed at the first two Ecumenical Synods on the three persons in the Godhead (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) and their identity of essence (*ousia*). Of the two other Church Fathers, John Chrysostom of Antioch was probably the greatest preacher in the entire history of the Church, East or West. So enraptured was his audience by his sermons that, it was said, even pick-pockets could ply their trade undisturbed.

As for our St. Basil, the fourth-century contemporary of the other two hierarchs, he was the only Father who, for his services

to the Church during the intense ferment over the Arian heresy, was accorded by his contemporaries, already during his lifetime, the title of 'the Great.' His interminable struggles against the Arian Emperor Valens, who repeatedly threatened him with execution if he did not accept the Arian beliefs, his intransigent support for the Orthodox faith of the Ecumenical Synods, not to speak of his administrative skills in ecclesiastical affairs, as well as his formulation of what became the standard Orthodox rule for organized monasticism—all these inestimable services to the Church have helped preserve and, with time, to enhance his reputation. But in my view what perhaps as much as anything else accounts for his unique reputation and authority in the Eastern Church was a treatise he wrote defending the study by Christians of Hellenic (that is pagan Greek) literature. It is, I believe, primarily on account of the impact of this treatise that in later centuries he was named the patron saint of Greek letters.

In the period of the later fourth century, there came to the imperial throne Emperor Julian the Apostate. Detesting Christianity and highly trained in Greek Neoplatonic philosophy and in literature, he sought to disestablish Christianity as the official religion of the Empire and restore paganism. In Julian's mind—and I think he was correct—the most effective way to secure his ends was by gaining control over the minds of the Christian youth. This he proposed to do by prohibiting, henceforth, any Christian from teaching in the schools of the Empire. Clearly, sooner or later, Orthodox Christianity would be completely eradicated.

As might well be expected, Christian reaction to this edict was one of profound distress. For it seemed to presage the destruction of the Christian faith and, if not a return to polytheism, at least the adoption of a kind of pagan Neoplatonic mystical religion. At this juncture Basil, then Bishop of Caesarea in Asia Minor, virtually alone among the Christian hierarchy had the foresight to envision a kind of compromise or conciliation between Christianity and the classical Greek tradition. As he saw it, if Christianity with its biblical tradition and dogma could harness the moral insights of the literary and philosophic works of classical learning, the Christian faith could not only be saved but even strengthened, especially among the more intellectual classes.

It was therefore at this time that he wrote his famous discourse entitled *Address to the Christian Youth on the Desirability of Studying Classical Greek Literature*. In this work he pointed the

way to a viable synthesis between the Christian faith on the one hand and much of Greek literature on the other. The kind of synthesis he proposed is still valid not only for the Orthodox world but for Roman Catholics and many of the Protestant denominations as well.

But why should a Christian Father of the Church, a proponent of Trinitarian doctrine which in the last analysis is based entirely on faith and cannot completely be proved by reason, champion the reading of classical *pagan* literature? Actually Basil's endorsement of ancient Greek literature, however strong, was very carefully qualified. For him, the primary importance of Greek literature lay in its usefulness for providing a better understanding of the tenets of the *Christian* faith. As he repeatedly insisted, classical literature had to be selectively studied. In the same way that a bee selectively extracts honey, so should a Christian carefully choose his readings from the pagan literary and philosophical works. For the Christian Basil, the sweetness of honey to be gathered from ancient Greek literature consisted above all in its moral and ethical teachings. In Greek literature and philosophy and their constant championing of the virtuous life and in the nobility of phrase with which their sentiments were couched, the precepts of classical learning were in actual fact very similar to the teachings of Christianity. Indeed, affirmed Basil, through study of Greek philosophy and rhetoric, Christian students could more effectively learn to explain the many difficult passages in Scripture. Through knowledge of the subtle imagery of classical rhetoric, the complexities of allegory, metaphor, the tropes, and other figures of speech so often found in the Hebrew and Christian Bibles could be rendered clearer. Seen in this light, classical literature could then be invaluable for achieving an even deeper intellectual and especially spiritual awareness of the meaning of the sacred texts themselves.

How did Basil come to such views, especially in contrast to so many other Christian leaders of his time, themselves violent in their opposition to the Arian attacks on the Nicene Creed, and to Julian's apostatic measures to destroy Christianity? Basil's parents, both Christian and highly educated in classical letters, very early put their son to the study of classical literature. The great Greek rhetorician Libanios, with whom young Basil was sent to study in the capital city of Constantinople, was well known for his extreme attachment to the literary and especially rhetorical authors of Hellenic culture, in particular vis-à-vis Latin literature which he

denigrated as inferior.

Basil studied not only Greek poetry, lyric and dramatic, but philosophy, and above all the various kinds of rhetorical expression. Rhetoric did not then have the modern meaning simply of ability in public speaking but meant rather the entire art of persuasion, that is eloquence in its broad sense. The education received by Basil was what the Greeks of his day termed *enkyklios paideia*, an all-encompassing knowledge which included grammar, rhetoric, history, poetry, logic, metaphysics, mathematics, and a smattering of medicine. To all of these the capstone for a Christian, however, was the divine science, theology.

In Basil's time, Athens, the old intellectual center of the Greco-Roman World, still maintained its intellectual preeminence. And in 323 therefore, he went to its university to study under certain celebrated teachers, all or most of whom were pagan Neo-Platonists. It was in this higher school at Athens that he became the friend, indeed the lifelong intimate, of the second of the 'Three Hierarchs,' Gregory of Nazianzos. When Basil returned from study in Athens to his home in Cappadocia, he had become a consummate master of ancient literature, philosophy, and especially rhetoric. Shortly afterwards he was named professor of rhetoric at the University of his home city of Caesarea in Cappadocia. It was near the end of his life, after he had resigned his University chair of rhetoric and, in particular, in response to Emperor Julian's threat to the existence of Christianity, that he sought to counter this intimidation of the Christian faith by putting at the service of Christianity the classical literature of antiquity. It was this remarkable kind of union of the two as exemplified in what is probably one of his most enduring literary works, *The Discourse to the Christian Youth*, that I wish to focus on in this study.

In my opinion, of all the Greek Church Fathers, Basil and Gregory of Nazianzos may most appropriately be termed 'Christian Humanists.' Broadly speaking, a humanist is one imbued with ideas on how man should act in a 'humane' civilized manner, as differentiated, so the ancient Greeks were wont to say, from beasts. And the qualities conducing to humanism were to be derived specifically from such subjects taught by the Greeks as grammar, rhetoric, and ethics, that is those conducing to man's best interaction with his fellows in society. Thus the prime purpose of a humanistic education was effective participation of each citizen in the life of his polis, or in Christian terms, his

koinonia. In the public assembly the ability to persuade one's fellow-citizens of the political as well as moral merits of a policy, that is eloquence, was prized above all. The educational curriculum of the Greeks thus came to consist of the study of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics as well as of politics, moral philosophy, mathematics, and even a smattering of medicine. This humanistic emphasis in education, termed by the Greeks *paideia*, or more specifically *enkyklios paideia*, as contrasted to our own strong modern emphasis on science, was central to the values of Greek education. And it was this kind of humanistically oriented training stressing rhetoric and ethics in which Basil and Gregory of Nazianzos were masters.

Basil, who composed his treatise at a rather advanced age, delivered his discourse, it seems, to some young men about to enter the priesthood who were confronted by the burning question of the time: "Should study of pagan Greek literature form part of a Christian education?" The discourse he wrote constitutes what is probably history's most celebrated response to this fundamental question. Indeed, Werner Jaeger, probably the greatest modern critic of ancient Greek and early Christian literature and philosophy, flatly affirms that "Basil's discourse was the charter of all Christian higher education for centuries to come."

Let us now turn to the discourse itself: in it Basil reveals a very acute knowledge of Greek literary works—of Aeschylos, Euripides, Sophocles, Homer, Hesiod, and many other writers of major importance. He also knew the pagan Greek legends and mythology of the time as well as Greek history, a knowledge of all of which he mingled in this discourse. Of the philosophers, he took most from Plato and the Neoplatonists, as did other Greek Fathers before him, notably Origen. For both Basil and Origen, Plato's dual world of ideas and the material world seemed very similar to the heaven and earth of Christianity, and could therefore without undue difficulty be assimilated to Christian dual belief in this world and that of the hereafter.

Let us quote from Basil himself regarding the juxtaposition of classical learning and Christianity (the following passages are translated from the Greek text):¹ "If the pagan Greek authors preach what is good, noble, and true, read them by all means, but if they teach vice, shun them." As Basil put it very succinctly: "All our aims are common." Basil believed, then, that the pagan classics had a definite place in Christian education if they were properly

chosen and taught and read. Then they could not only be beneficial but even necessary for a sound Christian education.

It is interesting that St. John Chrysostom, Basil's contemporary, who is traditionally represented as being most opposed, or at least most indifferent to, pagan literature, also favored a *modus vivendi* between Hellenism and Christianity. Yet Chrysostom's oratorical zeal often led him to censure not only the bad but what Basil considered useful to Christianity. Basil, with his rather more severe Attic style, showed more restraint than Chrysostom and avoided indulging in Chrysostom's more extravagant tirades against paganism. Yet despite Basil's virtual passion for Plato, he did not accept all of that philosopher's religious teachings; for example, belief in the transmigration of souls. Basil's attitude toward the classics was, I would say, perhaps the most balanced of all the Christian Fathers. Yet it is absolutely clear that Basil recommends pagan Greek literary study primarily on ethical and far less, if at all, on aesthetic or scientific grounds. Its value to him was primarily to stimulate the practice of virtue and to prepare the reader better to comprehend the Bible, both New and Old Testaments, with their often difficult strophes, metaphors, and allegories. Nevertheless, one still derives the feeling that he liked, probably even took some pleasure in, the purity of style and elegance of classical Greek literature. In my mind there is no question but that to Basil, an idealist in his striving for perfection and union with the divine, could not help but note how much more effective exhortations to the just and moral life could be to the reader if clothed in the eloquent language of Homer, Sophocles or Plato.

Basil begins his discourse by saying:

There are many reasons that lead me to counsel you, my children, on what I judge to be to our advantage. I have had experience in life. Do not think I have found something new for you. Do not surrender your mind (like a pilot his ship) wherever the pagan authors lead.

And then comes the celebrated phrase,

Accept from the Greek writings only those things which are useful to you as Christians. But what these are and how to distinguish them, I shall now relate. Human life is not of great value in itself. Nor is glory or bodily honors. The other, the after-life, is the important one, not this. The soul is more precious than the body. Holy Scriptures lead the way to the other life but

they teach us through mysteries. However, we can learn them by analogies and in fact arrive to a better understanding of the mysteries (*mysteria*) of the Christian faith by first going outside of them. The truth is clad in the raiment of words drawn from the outside. Even Moses, that greatest wise man, trained his mind first in the lore of the Egyptians.

Granted that we as Christians should then read the learning of the pagans. But which parts should we read? Basil answers,

First the poets, who provide genuine learning though in veiled allusions. Cherish the poets when they recount the deeds of good men and words. But if the ancient poets treat of wicked men, avoid imitation (as Odysseus avoided the Siren songs).

As Basil put it: "Familiarity with evil words is a road leading to vile deeds."

Watch the soul with vigilance lest through pleasure in a poet's words we may unwillingly accept something of the more evil sort, like those who take poison with honey. Do not praise poets who revile, mock, depict love (that is, sex), drink, or gluttony. Least of all heed when the poets speak of the gods, especially if they speak of them as many (he refers here, of course, to polytheism). Also disdain and completely avoid reading about the adulteries of the gods, their sexual peccadilloes in public, especially of Zeus. Leave these to the stage people (*tois epi skenes*).

And then comes the well-known passage on the bees, which has been ever-after quoted, especially by Orthodox monastic writers.

In all this be like the bees, who as they fly here and there, wisely select the flowers from which to extract the honey. [Like the bees] be selective in what you read from Greek literature and philosophy.

It was Basil's words that provided, for the entire Orthodox world, the ecclesiastical sanction necessary for study of the classics. It is little known, however, to Eastern Christians, that his treatise on classical learning was no less fervently admired in the Latin West much later during the period of the Italian Renaissance.² Apart from Origen and Gregory of Nyssa, Basil was perhaps the most profound of the Eastern theologians. He was a special favorite of the Renaissance humanist Erasmus for his forthrightness, clarity of style and thought, and perhaps above all for his moderation.

As is well known, the Latin West, during the medieval period from the fourth to the early eleventh century, had lost knowledge of virtually all of ancient Greco-Roman culture. It had sunk into almost a mire of ignorance and superstition. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, as a result partly of new cultural influences flowing into the West from the Arabs of Spain, themselves the heirs of a certain amount of ancient Greek philosophy and science, Latin, that is Western culture, was gradually revived. Much later in the fifteenth century, the humanists of Renaissance Italy, particularly in Florence, emphasized the study of classical Latin and, as time went on, also of ancient Greek literature. At first they made slow progress in their restoration of classic learning because the authorities of church and state believed their emphasis on classical literature exalted paganism to the detriment and even denial of Christianity.

What provided these early Italian humanists with a much-needed, singularly appropriate weapon for defense against charges of paganism was the discovery, or rather rediscovery, in Rome about 1400 of the Greek text of St. Basil's *Discourse to the Christian Youth*, the very text we have been considering. Leonardo Bruni, one of the most notable of the Florentine humanists, at once recognizing the practical value and significance of Basil's work, pounced upon it and translated it into Latin. His translation was subsequently diffused throughout all of Italy and the West and in time became one of the most popular writings of the entire Renaissance.⁴ Once again, Basil's treatise helped to save classical Greek literature from attack and enabled it thereby to enrich the later Western Christian tradition.

In my paper I have focused on only one of the many significant aspects of Basil's career. I have not discussed his achievement as the founder of organized Greek monasticism. (His monastic rule, as is well known, was the model for that of St. Benedict in the West, and, earlier, it had become the standard monastic rule for the entire Eastern Church.) Nor have I discussed to any degree the theological acumen of his theological writings supporting the Orthodox doctrines as laid down by the first two Ecumenical Synods. Moreover, I have not emphasized his skillful administration of his see of Caesarea during the turmoil of the Arian heresy, a doctrinal deviation which was even favored by the imperial government and threatened for a time to engulf the entire Christian Church.

All of these aspects of Basil's career have for centuries been carefully analyzed by scholars, both Greek and Latin. But so far as I am aware, all too little has been written regarding his impact on Patristic and later Christianity as a result of what I term the humanistic side of his personality, in particular his admiration and affection for the classical Greek literary and philosophic legacy to which he paid homage in the discourse I have here briefly analyzed. It was, then, through his 'Christian humanism' that he was primarily responsible for helping to preserve our precious Hellenic literary and philosophic heritage. By putting this ancient cultural legacy at the service of Orthodox Christianity and thus removing it from a position of opposition to Christianity, Basil, one of the 'Three Hierarchs,' was in 1931 accorded by the Greek Orthodox Church the additional title of 'Patron Saint of Greek Letters,' an honor we celebrate each year on January 30th.

NOTES

*This paper was delivered at the Greek Orthodox Cathedral in New York City in honor of the 1600th anniversary of the death of St Basil

1 See esp. R. Payne, *The Holy Fire* (London, 1958). Other useful works on Basil are, for his writings and their editions, J Quasten, *Patrology*, vol 3, *The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature* (Utrecht, 1966), pp. 204-36, M. Fox, *The Life and Times of St Basil the Great as Revealed in his Works* (Washington, D C , 1939), and on Basil and education, P Koukoules, *Basil, Gregory of Nazianzos and John Chrysostom as Educators* (Athens, 1951) (in Greek) For the Greek text of Basil's "Address to the Christian Youth" see Migne, *PG* 31 563-90 For additional English translations of the work see R. Deferrari, *Address to Young Men on Reading Greek Literature St Basil, Letters*, vol 4 (London, 1934), pp. 249-346, and F Padelford, *Address to Young Men on the Right Use of Greek Literature Essays on the Study and Use of Poetry by Plutarch and Basil the Great* (New York, 1902), pp 97-120

2 On the Italian Renaissance's knowledge and rediscovery of the Greek Fathers and especially Basil see D Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the Sibling Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance* (New Haven, 1976), esp Chap 14 "Western Recovery and Translation of the Greek Church Fathers and Their First Printed Editions in the Renaissance," pp 265-80

3 See R Peters, *Desiderius Erasmus Prefaces to the Fathers, the New Testament, On Study* (Menston, England, 1970) (who prints most of Erasmus' prefaces to his editions of the Latin and Greek Fathers), pp 155-67 I am preparing a book on Erasmus' editions of the Greek Fathers of the Church, including Basil

4 On the rediscovery of Basil's work and Bruni's translation (and later printed editions) see D Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the Sibling Cultures*, pp 270-72 and notes 15-18

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**ST. KOSMAS AITOLOS:
FAITH AS PRACTICAL COMMITMENT**

Kosmas Aitolos (1714-1779) commenced his itinerant ministry at a time of extreme turmoil and suffering for the subject Orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire, especially in its western parts. All competent authorities on the times agree that a state of chaotic lawlessness prevailed in those areas, under which men had reverted to a primitive kind of bestiality.¹ The conditions are amply mirrored in the saint's own writings, in which he frequently accuses his fellow Christians of having turned into wild animals because of ignorance.² The reasons for this situation were manifold, but special mention must be made of the effects upon the Greek lands of the Russo-Turkish war of 1769-1774. This conflict brought about the insurrection of the Greeks of the Peloponnese in 1770, who at the direct instigation of the Russians believed that the time had come for liberation from the Turkish yoke. The uprising failed, the Russian fleet sailed away, and the insurrectionists were abandoned to a cruel fate. Specially mobilized Turko-Albanian forces traversed western Greece to descend upon Morea, in order to punish the foolhardy rebels, of whom about 50,000 perished in the ensuing massacres.³ These calamities intensified the feeling of despair that already possessed the Greeks under the traditionally harsh rule of the Turkish pashas. And they exacerbated the trend of conversion to Islam, which was under way since the seventeenth century but around this time reached epidemic proportions. The enslaved Christians felt that their best hope for escaping the evils of their condition would be to embrace the religion of their masters in order to accede to the privileged Islamic stratum. Even the Ottoman government was alarmed by the phenomenon, fearing almost total loss of its tax base. In any event, around the middle of the eighteenth century the Christian element of the Balkan peninsula faced the real possibility of extinction. And this frightening prospect brought Kosmas into action as a spirited defender and regenerator of Orthodoxy.⁴

Based upon the extant writings of the saint, we are here con-

cerned with fleshing out the prime ingredients of his mental universe. We want to explore the intensely personal way in which he interpreted and applied the traditional Byzantine religious dogma that animated him. We shall also have a few words to say about the impact of his ministry upon the social cohesion and self-consciousness of the modern Greek nation.

A reading of his surviving *Teachings* reveals that Kosmas' point of departure was the traditional Orthodox faith, which he had imbibed during his extensive stay on Mt. Athos.⁵ His ideology was decisively shaped by the other-worldly and apocalyptic mysticism of the hesychastic communities, of which he had become a member. It is true that he attended the famous Athonian School and studied under Eugenios Voulgaris, one of the most important early exponents of western rationalism in Greece who was the academy's director. But although he seems to have belonged to a particularly bright group of students closely attached to the great teacher,⁶ his discourses do not yield any evidence that the rationalistic *weltanschauung* had any influence upon his thinking. As a naturally curious person, he simply gave vent to his innate inclination for learning. He familiarized himself with the rudiments of various practical subjects (such as botany and medicine), which he would later put to effective use during his missionary journeys. This apprenticeship reinforced the practical bent of his spirit, which eventually brought him out of the monastery and into the world. And yet it was kept in strict subordination to a final objective that was thoroughly religious. Kosmas firmly believed that the end of the world was at hand and that the prophet Elijah, kept hidden but alive by God for so many centuries, was about to resurface to preside over this last phase of the history of creation. Popular mythology identified Kosmas himself as the returned Elijah.⁷ And the resulting awe was a major persuasive factor in his successful drive to make the people repent. No taint of modern rationalism affects these ideas.

His primary focus throughout his career was to reawaken the basic principles of Orthodox ethics in the breasts of the sorely tried flock of the Church. He believed that the spiritual rejuvenation of the people would stem the tide of Islamization and assure the survival of Orthodoxy. He battled against the wild mores prevailing under the historical circumstances described above, in order to knit the Christians together again as a pious community cemented by love.

Let there be, then, right from the beginning no doubt that his principle and conscious goal is strictly religious, lacking an exclusive national reference or basis. As we shall see, it becomes ethnically specified as a result of accumulating concrete experiences in the field, without of course shedding its overriding Orthodox character.

This orientation is made amply clear in the following declarations: "We, my fellow Christians, have no home here on earth. This is why God made us with an upright head and put our brain on the upper part of our body, so that we can always reflect the heavenly kingdom, our true home."⁸ And in another place he makes the following quite sharp statement: "This world, my brethren, is like a jail . . . We should cry when we are born and rejoice when we die."⁹ These words reveal the saint's absolute preoccupation with reaching what should be every Christian's true "final destination," namely a future life of eternal bliss made possible by a thorough inner cleansing of the sins and passions besmirching our worldly sojourn.

The appellation 'Greek' (Hellenes) has throughout the works of Kosmas only pejorative connotations. In a scrupulous agreement with traditional Byzantine doctrine, a Greek is for him an "atheist, heretic," a purveyor of paganistic doctrine.¹⁰ During the renaissance of the Palaiologue era, the last phase of splendor in Byzantine history, the term Greek had been rehabilitated and given a positive valuation after centuries of disuse. As Byzantium became reduced to the primordially Hellenic territories of the Balkans, the last Byzantines sought some solid footing against the tides of history about to submerge them in a new awareness of their descent from the illustrious spirits of classical antiquity. When the Empire was dissolved by the Turks, however, Orthodoxy remained the primary political and spiritual link holding together the newly enslaved populations. The original hostility to paganism was revived, and the classical heritage was once again banned as antithetical to Orthodoxy. The church retreated into a traditional doctrine of mysticism and purity of doctrine. This could be interpreted as a justified act of self-preservation under the onslaught of overwhelming forces defining themselves through Islam.¹¹ This line of thought was prevalent at the time Kosmas was coming to maturity, and it is faithfully reflected in his writings.

Consequently, the term *genos* that the saint frequently uses, which is usually translated as "nation," in fact lacks the ethnopolitical connotations that accrued to it during later phases of

Greek history. In Kosmas *genos* refers to either of two things: first of all, the family of man as a whole in genetic descent from Adam and hence vitiated by original sin,¹² or else to the community of Orthodox Christians regardless of race, the particular group that Kosmas was trying to deliver from the moral turpitude and mental torpor that had befallen it recently.¹³ Kosmas, thus, adhered to an exclusively spiritual objective, that cannot be interpreted as an effort consciously to prepare the national liberation of the Greeks.

If this is the case, then how do we account for Kosmas' well-known insistence upon the necessity and value of education, an education moreover firmly and explicitly based upon the Greek language? The saint traveled extensively throughout the Greek peninsula founding schools and stressing that Christians ought to devote themselves to Greek letters, which bring light to dark minds. Altogether Kosmas founded 210 Greek schools.¹⁴

Kosmas railed against the evils of ignorance, described as the characteristic of animals. The holy saints, who founded the Orthodox Church, he declared were not ignorant but well versed in the religion and theology of their time.¹⁵ Their example should be imitated.

His claim, nonetheless, that learning "enlightens"¹⁶ should by no means tempt us to class him with the coterie of rationalistic and Western-oriented enlighteners that revolutionized Greek thinking towards the end of the eighteenth century. For when Kosmas talks about the need for enlightenment he has in mind the complete grasp by the faithful of the fundamentals of Orthodox Christianity. As far as he is concerned, education should be strictly religious in character, involving a thorough training in the "joyful mysteries" of the church which must be made accessible to every mind.¹⁷ Our rational faculty, our mind, is certainly a gift from God. But its final goal is to open itself up and absorb the truth of the Gospel.¹⁸ By going to school we learn what God and the Holy Trinity are, what justice and virtue mean from the Christian perspective.¹⁹ Education is with him a positive value and a powerful force only because it makes people good Orthodox Christians, and hence in this process churches and monasteries are founded.²⁰ This implies a firm subjugation of the educational process to non-secular ends, and it does not place any perceptible emphasis upon training in the arts and sciences. The latter is not necessarily condemned, and it may be actually condoned as a means of improving the material lot of the people. But this is

definitely a secondary and incidental concern.

In this light, how do we evaluate Kosmas' further insistence on the importance of the Greek language? As it is also well known that he encouraged the Vlach and Albanian speaking communities through which he passed to abandon their native tongues ("Promise not to speak Albanian and I take your sins upon my head,"²¹ he once exclaimed in the heat of sermonizing) in order to adopt Greek. And in this manner he contributed a great deal to the assimilation of those ethnic groups by the dominant Greek element in continental Greece.²² But the reason why he urged upon them this course was again a thoroughly religious one, namely the fact that Greek was the ancient and original means of expression of the church.²³ They were prodded to learn Greek because the church's services were conducted in it, and by extension because the Gospel itself had been written in this language. Here there is no affirmation of the Greek tongue as an independent repository of cultural or national values. Just like every other aspect of worldly reality, the value of that language was to him not intrinsic but rather dependent upon the transcendent purpose it had been made to serve. It is useful because through it the Orthodox Church praises the Lord Jesus who liberates us from our worldly bondage altogether.

All this contributes only *mediately*, unconsciously to the deepening of the national self-awareness of the Greek element. It kindles their justifiable pride in furnishing the means of expression of the church as well as its top administrative layer, and reinforces their aspiration to unite under its direction the entire body of the Orthodox. The strengthening of the cultural identity of the Greeks is an objective by-product of Kosmas' preaching. Of course even so its consequences are immense, for the glorification of the beautiful liturgical language underscores and perpetuates the main link of the Greek nation with its renowned antiquity at the same time that classical Hellenism is ignored in Kosmas' thought, and in the thought of the church in general.²⁴

Kosmas was not, therefore, a nationalistic firebrand, criss-crossing the country to prepare the rising of the Greeks against Turkish rule. As a matter of fact, his discourses reveal a rather ambiguous attitude with regard to the Ottoman authorities. On the one hand, he is aware of their Islamic nature and the danger that their predominance poses through the pressures for conversion to Islam. On the other hand, nonetheless, following a strict traditional separation of religion from politics, he does not dispute the

legitimacy of the Turkish dominion. He goes even further, by positively recognizing that in comparison to other possible tyrannies the specific nature of Turkish overlordship renders it rather benevolent. As M.A.Gkiolias has incisively observed, his attitude is shaped by the memory of the administrative privileges that the Patriarch was accorded by Mohammed the Conqueror and which formed the legal basis for the wide civil and ecclesiastical authority of the Phanar over the Christians of the Empire.²⁵ This is how Kosmas himself expresses this attitude:

Three hundred years after the resurrection of our Christ, God sent St. Constantine who established a Christian kingdom. The Christians held it for one-thousand-one-hundred-fifty years. Then God took it (the Christian kingdom) away from the Christians and brought the Turks and gave it to them for our own good. They've held it for three hundred and twenty years. Why did God bring the Turks and not another race? For our own good, because the other nations would have harmed our faith, while the Turk will do anything you want if you give him money.²⁶

In a further manifestation of this stance, in one of his extant letters he is writing to the Turkish governor of a province he is visiting and presents himself as a loyal subject of the sultan, ready to acquiesce to any order of the king's local representative:

"I, my Lord, as a Christian and unworthy servant of the holy God and a slave of my emperor, Sultan Hamid, have been commanded by my patriarchs and bishops to travel about and teach the Christians to keep God's commandments and to obey the divine imperial commands."²⁷

Some of the commentators on Kosmas argue that there is an element of diplomatic courtesy to these pronouncements, intended to secure the consent of the authorities for journeying in the areas under their control.²⁸ There is truth to this. And yet the last sentence quoted above transgresses, to my mind, the bounds of mere calculated deference. It clearly states that part of Kosmas' teaching consisted of urging his fellow Orthodox to obey scrupulously the laws laid down by the Ottoman masters. This attitude derives from the usual practice of the ecclesiastical authorities, but also from the fundamental Christian doctrine of rendering unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto God what is God's. The Christian's kingdom is not of this world. And Kosmas is not in-

terested in raising an army for the restoration of that vanished Christian state he talked about. The latter belongs irredeemably to the past. The present duty of the Orthodox is to purify himself in the expectation of the second coming. This interpretation of Kosmas' non-political message is, I think, corroborated by the fact that the various Turkish governors and judges would actually seek out Kosmas to visit and preach in their areas because his teaching transformed the Christians into loyal subjects observing the laws.²⁹ Local unrest and brigandage ceased in his wake.

In summation, textual and historical evidence suggests that to the end that saint was a spiritual teacher bent upon rekindling the Orthodox fervor of the flock. He understood himself as a purveyor of revitalized traditional religion. His purpose was to equip the struggling soul with the requisite weapons of purity and virtue for a successful leap beyond present actuality and into Paradise.

If the above conclusions are correct, then how was it that Kosmas came to occupy such a place of honor in the imagination of the Greek people? How was it that with time they identified his mission as the early stirrings of the great movement for national liberation that was soon to flower in Hellas?

To answer this we must initially underline that his understanding of Orthodoxy as concrete commitment and service contained certain structural characteristics that made it imperative for him to immerse himself into the sufferings and aspirations of his people. His *activist* orientation, his non-contemplative temperament, brought him into intimate contact with the life of the Greek peasantry. His sensitive social antennae eventually caught the secret yearnings of the flock, even the murky presentiments of freedom, which he did not fail to reflect. He was born in their midst of poor parents, and to them he returned. And even if he did not respond to them by means of fiery nationalist rhetoric or repudiate his lofty spiritual preoccupations, his robust instinct for the actual conditions of life of the common man placed him in the mainstream of history. He fashioned rules of life which supplied the social scaffolding for the eventual movement for independence, despite the fact that they were not consciously designed as remedies for a sociopolitical problem.

The saint's Orthodoxy was one of total commitment to and sharing of the life of the average and downtrodden person. His faith was not verbalistic, rhetorical, and abstract, but supremely practical and down to earth. He came to grips with the challenges

of real life. He was convinced that he had to teach by example, carrying his own cross in the world in order to show to others how to do the same. He wanted the faithful to understand that spiritual leadership means total preoccupation with their everyday suffering. In Kosmas the best traditions of a truly evangelical ministry were resurrected. He was an apostle and a martyr, prepared to deny himself totally for the sake of his brother. Quite incisively A. Vacalopoulos characterizes him as a "positive programmer,"³⁰ in contradistinction to a totally theoretical speculator. And his program, strictly anchored in the most fundamental and most beautiful tenets of Christianity, was intended to help his people overcome the dangers that threatened them and to reorganize their existence through moral links that unite indissolubly. To the lawless and bestial mentality that had overwhelmed them, he opposed the prospect of wholesome community indestructible under God. He adopted their concerns as his own. And by teaching them he was also learning from them. His traditionalism was a forward-looking and progressive involvement with real people.

The basic underpinning of Kosmas' personal interpretation of Orthodoxy is his doctrine of the Two Loves,³¹ which renders most movingly the entire essence of godly life in a simple and beautiful sentence. What is the true name of our Lord? Kosmas kept asking. He has many of them, but the highest one is Love. From this flows the twofold nature of Christian duty: love of God and love of our fellowman.³² Christ died in order to save humanity from perdition, and this deed sets the tone for the Christ-like experience of every individual. Christ demands from us that we sacrifice ourselves unconditionally and without expectation of material rewards³³ for the spiritual welfare of our brethren. This is a duty that comes before all else. There is no acceptable excuse for shirking it. Kosmas is prepared to take this injunction literally, apply it in practice, and accept all the consequences flowing in from it. For it gnawed deep in his heart as a secret yearning all the while he was weighing his mission.

This does not mean that it came lightly to him, that he did not have to overcome a deep internal struggle before the scales finally tipped and he embarked upon the road of total service. By nature of ascetic disposition, and imbued with the hesychastic tradition of Mt. Athos, he had to grapple with severe doubts as to whether he was right to abandon the monastic solitude he had been taught to cherish on the Holy Mountain, in order to return

to the world. He reveals to us, in most sweet and moving tones that reveal the dizzying depth of his eagerness for self-sacrifice, the dilemma that rent his conscience. He acknowledges,

You might accuse me, my brothers, of defiling the holy habit and mission of the monk by abandoning the blessed quietude of the monastery to rejoin the tumult of the world and confront its vices. You are right on that score. The salvation of the monk depends upon his total renunciation of worldly activity. And yet disregarding considerations of my personal spiritual welfare I decided to risk even my sure damnation to stand by your side. I looked out of my window and I perceived you wounded, bleeding, and crying for help. I saw you submerged by waves of ignorance, egoism, hatred for one another. And I decided that I should not tarry a moment longer out of consideration for my personal salvation. Yours matters to me above all else. Yes, I will indeed be punished by God for betraying the ideal of the monk. But my life belongs to you. Therefore here I am, trying to transmit the divine truth that will save you, undoubtedly myself a sinner and unworthy before God. I only pray that in His infinite mercy He may be moved to spare me too at the final hour."³⁴

These are the thoughts that moved him to take to the wide and inhospitable roads of the world. And they provide a beautiful psychological portrait of inner agony and self-doubt. They show the magnitude of his courage and his determination to act out his faith in novel and untried ways. In his pious traditionalism Kosmas was a pioneer. He gave a new vitality to his ancient faith, all the while inwardly certain that he was *sinning* because he was diverging from the established understanding of tradition! But by "diverging" from tradition he turned it into potent force. He thus shows that faith demands even richer ways of being experienced and applied, and that it dies if it becomes reduced to slavish veneration of external form.

These are the existential reasons—the fundamentals of Christianity internalized and turned into an effective mode of personal conduct—that prompted his four apostolic journeys. He traveled to the four corners of the Greek world talking to the faithful, as he put it, not as a teacher but as a brother.³⁵ He vowed and practiced absolute poverty. The wooden platform with the big cross, on top of which he delivered his sermons represented, as he saw it, his grave.³⁶ He was someone sent from God and belonged entirely to

God temporarily inhabiting the mortal body in order to pluck his fellow men, too, out of the morass and lift them to the aethereal abode in which he thrived.

The content and style of his teaching was simple. His first biographer and former student compares them to the unaffected but inspired speech of those fishermen from Judea.³⁷ The comparison is apt, for it applies to all aspects of his transparent and unencumbered personality. His language spoke the vernacular of the common folk (*demotike*), an additional factor enhancing the immediacy of the message. Kosmas gave an early demonstration of the important role that the demotic had to play in the spiritual awakening of the Greek nation.

He went around condemning the moral degeneration that had sapped the fiber of the Christian nation, the lying, the cheating, the fornication, the vengefulness that destroyed all sense of communal existence. In this context he taught respect for women, championing their spiritual equality to men under one God. Only moral and pious deeds, and not sex, determine the relative worth of person over person.³⁸ But above all he castigated the exploitation of the poor by the rich, of the weak by the powerful. And his categories were all-inclusive. He brooked no favoritism on account of social status. He pointed out that many even among the clergy had become oblivious to duty, degenerating into satraps over the flock that provide no spiritual guidance.³⁹ They meted out the dreadful punishment of excommunication lightly, quite often for personal gain.⁴⁰ Local magistrates and notables of the Christian communities (*proestoi*) had also betrayed their duty to help and protect, and had turned into rapacious beasts feeding upon the misery of their fellows through usury and other exactions.⁴¹ These people, he intoned, should not think that the mere fact of their high position exempts them from the obligations of the code of love. Laymen and clergy alike who have lapsed into sin must acknowledge their transgressions, repent in time and change their ways in order to become acceptable to God. They cannot count on automatic salvation.

If anybody has ever wronged someone else, Christian, Turk or Jew, he declared, then he must immediately restore the ill-gotten gains to their rightful owner and beg his forgiveness.⁴² The essence of life is not taking, but the opposite. A priest put on the holy garment not because of the material benefits or the 'glory,' the social prestige, that it confers, but because he sees it as an opportunity to humble himself and serve without consideration of

self-interest.⁴³ The true priest thrives on self-abnegation.

Kosmas did not merely denounce. Using the practical knowledge he had acquired at the Athonian School, he was felt as a tangible force for change in the Greek countryside: he went around planting trees, tending animals and curing simple diseases. These activities caused his fame to grow far and wide. He was worshipped as a miracle-working saint already during his lifetime.⁴⁴ Practical knowledge, which for the rationalists that taught him remained for the time being a collection of abstract principles, became in the hands of Kosmas a positive force altering the life of the people. And this despite the fact that in the context of his ministry, knowledge remained subordinate to otherworldly objectives.

But above all the main message was that the Christian community must be transformed into a bee-hive of active sharing. It must establish its Greek School, and organize itself around the church into a 'fraternity'⁴⁵ with chosen officials to direct its godly pursuits. As a sign of renewed dedication to God, the people must devote their Sunday, the day of the Lord, to prayer and works of love. He forbade commercial activity on Sundays, and he urged them to move their village fairs to Saturday.⁴⁶ This injunction was generally enforced, and it proved a major irritant in the relations of Kosmas with the Jewish merchants, who could not, of course, participate in commerce on their own Sabbath.⁴⁷

Life must be made new in the image of the true evangelical community. Kosmas translated the doctrine of love into burning actuality. He returned to the most essential teachings of the Gospel. Around him shone the same halo of purity, which had transfigured the noblest figures of the early church.

This is why he had such a tremendous impact upon thousands of formerly dispirited Christians. They turned out in throngs to listen to him, and they pledged themselves to his precepts with alacrity. As his first biographer informs us the transformation of the communities where he set foot was radical. Vice and exploitation disappeared.⁴⁸ The people united into one body and renounced the old hatreds, resolving to face adversity in solid bond of mutual and universal love. On this strengthened soil the tree of rational freedom would eventually grow.

But what did Kosmas *learn* as a result of his immersion into the agonies and aspirations of the people?

During his travels he came into contact with their changing mood under the pressure of historical circumstances. Especially

after the 1770 insurrections, when the spirit of liberation was wide upon the land and the stirrings of an incipient national consciousness reverberated with newfound impetus, he did not fail to heed these yearnings. Without abandoning his overall spiritual orientation, he became sensitive to new concerns. As the Greek spy, whom the Venetian authorities attached to him to keep watch over his movements, reported, his discourses toward the end of his ministry became increasingly political.⁴⁹ The powers-that-be seemed to be particularly concerned about his effort to organize the Greek countryside into "fraternities." They interpreted this as a potentially revolutionary development. Accusations against him flew around to the effect that he was an agent of the Russian government.⁵⁰ Kosmas now became more sensitive to the national significance of his mission. Through Greek learning and renewed commitment to Orthodoxy the seeds were being sown for a united Greek people standing over their oppressors as a self-conscious entity.

Towards the end of his career Kosmas delineates an even sharper opposition between Christian and Turk, advocating vigorous resistance to the civilization and religious principles of the latter. He identifies now two main forms of the Antichrist on earth: the Frankish or popish and the Turkish form, although he is still careful not to spell the latter out too explicitly. Yet he does clearly mean the Turkish overlords when he talks of the oppressor who "sits on our heads."⁵¹ He defines the opposition of the two cultures in terms of self-control versus perdition, fasting versus gluttony, virginity versus prostitution, justice versus injustice.⁵² The terms are still theologically derived, and yet the sharp and belligerent tone of the anti-Ottoman feeling is something new. This fresh element reaches a crescendo when he admonishes the Christians not to submit themselves to the judgment of the Turkish courts. "The traitor should be denied communion,"⁵³ he demands. This last formulation is remarkable because it makes use of a term frequently found in political contexts. Kosmas is here becoming aware of the legal and administrative dimensions of his dichotomy, which assume a positive value in his thinking. Hence we can infer that without jettisoning its overall spiritual-Orthodox framework his ideology has undergone evolution towards greater awareness of the political aspects of the opposition between Christian and Turk. The future is here dimly prefigured in the mind of the saint. This is a result of his concrete experiences. The more intimately he communicated with the oppressed flock, the more in-

tense became the impression (still in an inchoate state nonetheless) that the recent national unrest presaged the way of the future.

As the most authoritative commentators point out, there is no historical evidence to support the romantic myth that Kosmas befriended and even joined the Klephts or that he became the moving spirit behind their galvanization into a national force.⁵⁴ These developments were still generations away. As Vacalopoulos states, it seems probable that there was some contact between him and the roaming bands of mountaineers, something that could hardly be avoided given the extensive nature of his journeys, especially after the Orlov events.⁵⁵ But from that we cannot assume any organic connection.

In any case the above characteristics of the latest phase of his thought, plus the repeated emphasis upon the necessity of the Greek language, were enough to secure for Kosmas a choice place in the pantheon of the precursors of Greek independence. Popular tradition embraces his figure wholeheartedly, reinterpreting and reshaping the memories from his passage in a manner that suited later concerns. It depicts him as the national saint who anticipates and foretells the manner and time of the liberation of Greece. Numerous reports survive of oracular sayings purported to have been uttered by the saint, which describe the outbreak of war for the restoration of Greek statehood and designate magical signs whose fruition would signify the coming of freedom.⁵⁶ The popular mind remembers Kosmas as prophesying the coming to pass of that "yearned-for event" (*to pothoumenon*),⁵⁷ viz. the resurrection of Hellas.

I am not certain how confidently we can ascribe these utterances to him. The prism of national memory always refracts the images from the standpoint of later developments.

But it is also a legitimate problem to what extent this popular representation of Kosmas is totally at variance with historical fact that can no longer be positively ascertained. There is no smoke without fire, as a wise Greek proverb states. Is it inconceivable that in the course of his travels Kosmas felt the need to respond to the national feelings of his fellow Greeks? He was definitely first and foremost an Orthodox missionary. But he was also a Greek. Is it inconceivable that in his late "political" phase the strings of national identity in him were touched by the general resurgence around him? In any case the Greek people themselves saw in him a prophet and champion of their freedom. Many of the wondrous signs he was said to have predicted occurring at the time of libera-

tion allegedly came to pass as late as 1912, during that phase of the Greek national struggle. Kosmas was totally absorbed by Greek popular nationalism.

This may have been the product of overidealization. But what remains objectively true is the fact that Kosmas' ministry contributed to the knitting together of the torn fabric of the community. He was a significant factor in its survival as a social whole. And this was the indispensable precondition for the later political reconstitution of the Greek nation.

NOTES

1. A. Vacalopoulos, *History of the Modern Greek Nation* (Thessalonike, 1973), 4, 345-71 (in Greek); M.A. Gkiolias, *Kosmas Aitolos and His Age* (Athens, 1972), pp. 21-46 (in Greek).

2. Kosmas' surviving works are published as Part 2 in M.A. Gkiolias, *Kosmas Aitolos*, pp. 327-435. N. M. Vapori has translated these into English except for the prophecies of which he presents a selection. See his *Father Kosmas, The Apostle of the Poor* (Brookline, 1977). For the point made here, see Gkiolias, *Kosmas Aitolos*, p. 352 and Vapori, *Father Kosmas*, p. 47. Henceforth the first number following Gkiolias' name refers to the number of Kosmas' *didache* followed by the page reference. The same is true for Vapori.

3. A. Vacalopoulos, *History*, 4, pp. 372-430.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 102; Gkiolias, *Kosmas Aitolos*, pp. 97-118.

5. He stayed on Mt. Athos for a total of seventeen years, as he reveals in his First *Didache*. Cf. Gkiolias, 1, p. 332; Vapori, 1, p. 15.

6. Vacalopoulos, *History*, 4, p. 365; Gkiolias, *Kosmas Aitolos*, p. 64.

7. Gkiolias, 4, p. 370; Vapori, 4, pp. 71-72. Also Vacalopoulos, *History*, 4, p. 438.

8. See Gkiolias, 1, p. 345; Vapori, 1, p. 34. The Greek word that Kosmas uses here is *patrida*, which also means homeland or motherland. So that where he states that the Christian has "no home on earth" he also means that he belongs to no specific national state. The statement is remarkable for its decided rejection of national exclusiveness. It was factual in the sense that the Christian of the Ottoman Empire had no homeland to claim his own. But this situation was a blessing in disguise from a theological point of view for it forced a Christian to orient himself to Heaven, his true and only *patrida*. No intermediate step of nation-building is here envisaged.

9. Gkiolias, 4, p. 368; Vapori, 4, p. 69.

10. Gkiolias, 1, p. 330; Vapori, 1, p. 14.

11. See N.G. Svoronos, *Overview of Modern Greek History* (Athens, 1976), pp. 33-51 (in Greek).

12. Gkiolias, 3, p. 351; Vapori, 3, p. 45.

13. Gkiolias, 3, p. 352; Vapori, 3, p. 47.

14. Gkiolias, *Kosmas Aitolos*, p. 136. Almost all the extant letters of Kosmas contain instruction to local leaders to found schools. See Gkiolias, *Kosmas Aitolos*, pp. 422-29; Vapori, *Father Kosmas*, pp. 147-58.

15. Kosmas, *Fragments*, in Gkiolias, *Kosmas Aitolos*, p. 421; Vapori, *Father Kosmas*, p. 145.

16. Gkiolias, 6, p. 384; Vapori, 6, p. 91.

17. Gkiolias, 1, p. 341.
18. Gkiolias, 5, p. 381; Vapori, 5, p. 86.
19. Gkiolias, 1, p. 344; Vapori, 1, p. 33.
20. Gkiolias, 5, p. 375; Vapori, 5, p. 77.
21. Gkiolias, 7, p. 405; Vapori, 7, p. 118.
22. Gkiolias, p. 141; Vacalopoulos, *History*, 4, pp. 439-40.
23. Gkiolias, 5, p. 377; Vapori, 5, p. 80.
24. Vacalopoulos, *History*, 4, p. 443.
25. Gkiolias, p. 80.
26. Gkiolias, 3, p. 354; Vapori, 3, p. 49.
27. Kosmas, *Letters*, no. 13, in Gkiolias, p. 429; Vapori, *Father Kosmas*, p. 158.
28. Vacalopoulos, *History*, 4, p. 438.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., p. 336.
31. Gkiolias, 1, p. 334; Vapori, 1, p. 19.
32. Gkiolias, 1, p. 335; Vapori, 1, p. 19-20.
33. Gkiolias, 1, p. 332; Vapori 1, p. 16.
34. I am here paraphrasing Kosmas' statements, see Gkiolias, *Kosmas Aitolos*, 7, p. 400; Vapori, 7, p. 111.
35. Gkiolias, 1, p. 332; Vapori, 1, p. 15.
36. Gkiolias, 1, p. 344; Vapori, 1, p. 32.
37. Sapphierios Christodoulides, *Witness*, in Gkiolias, *Kosmas Aitolos* pp. 436-44. Translated into English by C. Cavarinos, *St. Cosmas Aitolos* (Belmont, Ma., 1971), pp. 25-43. The quotation is from Gkiolias, 437; Cavarinos, 29.
38. Gkiolias, 1, p. 340; Vapori 1, pp. 26-27.
39. Gkiolias, 3, p. 357; Vapori, 3, p. 51.
40. Gkiolias, 4, p. 363; Vapori, 4, p. 62.
41. Gkiolias, 3, pp. 357-58; Vapori, 3, p. 53.
42. Gkiolias, *Kosmas Aitolos*, 4, p. 364; Vapori, 4, p. 63.
43. Gkiolias, 5, p. 379; Vapori, 5, p. 83.
44. Gkiolias, *Kosmas Aitolos*, p. 94.
45. Vacalopoulos, *History*, 4, p. 436.
46. Gkiolias, 4, p. 369.
47. Ibid., pp. 225-48.
48. S. Christodoulides, *Witness*, in Gkiolias, *Kosmas Aitolos*, pp. 438-39; Cavarinos, *Kosmas Aitolos*, pp. 31-32.
49. Vacalopoulos, *History*, 4, p. 436.
50. Gkiolias, *Kosmas Aitolos*, p. 245.
51. Gkiolias, 8, p. 409; Vapori, 8, p. 126.
52. Gkiolias, 8, p. 409; Vapori, 8, p. 126.
53. Gkiolias, 8, p. 411, 412; Vapori, 8, pp. 129, 130.
54. Gkiolias, pp. 145-64.
55. Vacalopoulos, *History*, 4, p. 433.
56. Kosmas, *Prophecies and Sayings* in Gkiolias, *Kosmas Aitolos*, pp. 429-35; Vapori, *Father Kosmas*, pp. 159-60.
57. Kosmas, *Prophecies*, in Gkiolias, *Kosmas Aitolos*, pp. 429, 430; Vapori, *Father Kosmas*, p. 159.

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CONSTANTINE CAVARNOS

ST. KOSMAS AITOLOS ON GOD

In one of his *Didachai* (Teachings), as his sermons came to be known, St. Kosmas Aitolos says: "It is proper and reasonable, as we learn from the holy book of the Gospels and the other divine Scriptures, to begin our teaching with God; and when we finish, to thank God."¹ St. Kosmas abided by this counsel. In all of his *didachai* he begins by speaking of God, and ends with some reference to him. Needless to say, he does not dispense with God in the parts of the *Didachai* between the beginning and the end. Like all true saints, he had his mind continuously turned toward God; and so he refers to God throughout his eight sermons that have come down to us, and also in his twelve personal letters. He speaks of the Holy Trinity, and of the three persons that constitute it. He mentions many attributes of God, and speaks of God's relation to man and of man's relation to him. What St. Kosmas says is of great interest as a clear and simple exposition of the teaching of the Orthodox Church about God, as an example of an ardent espousal of this teaching by a great saint of the Church who lived in the eighteenth century, and as an underscoring of certain attributes of God that is characteristic of the Orthodox conception of the Deity.

Our saint often mentions both metaphysical and moral attributes. Among the metaphysical attributes cited are unity in trinity, omnipotence, light, life, and creativity; among the moral, goodness, compassion, mercifulness, justice, and love.

Regarding the unity of God, Kosmas remarks: "God is one, and whoever says that there are many gods is a devil."² Again, he says: "God is one nature, one glory, one kingdom, one God."³

St. Kosmas frequently speaks of God as the "Holy Trinity" or the "All-Holy Trinity," and mentions the three Persons constituting it: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Although he notes that the Trinity is a mystery, being incomprehensible and inexplicable,⁴ he on two occasions gives illustrations of the relationships between the three persons. He observes that we do not have any example with which to compare the Holy Trinity, because there exists none in the world; yet he goes on to add that the theo-

logians of the Church, in order to offer a slight help to our mind, give some examples. One such example is, he says, the following.

The sun is, as we all know, one, and God is one; and just as the sun illuminates this sensible world, so the Holy Trinity illuminates the intelligible world. We said that the sun is one, but it is also three: it has rays which come to our eyes like lines, like threads; and it has light which spreads to the whole world. To the sun we liken the eternal Father; to the rays, the coeternal Son; and to the light, the consubstantial Spirit.⁵

Another illustration which the blessed Kosmas cites is taken not from the external, physical world, but from the internal world, from the human soul and its powers.

The soul, [he says], is one; a person begets the power of discursive reason; then there is also breath, which belongs to the soul, not to the body. The soul is comparable with the Father; discursive reason, with the Son and Logos of God; the breath of the soul, with the All-Holy Spirit. The soul begets discursive reason (*logos*) through intuitive reason (*nous*), and secondly, discursive reason is begotten by the lips. And just as discursive reason is first begotten by the soul, and is not manifested, and then by means of the lips becomes manifest, so the Son and Logos of God was begotten before all ages by God the Father. But he was not made manifest to mankind, but abided in the bosom of the Father. Secondly, He was begotten from the lips of the Prophets and the all-pure and Ever-virgin Mary, and became manifest to the whole world.⁶

St. Kosmas adds that there is another, better way of understanding the Holy Trinity: through the illumination of divine grace. Such illumination, he remarks, will come to us if we confess candidly and receive Holy Communion with fear and devoutness.⁷

Omnipotence, while ascribed to the Holy Trinity, is not dwelt upon. The Saint simply asserts that God is omnipotent.⁸

The attribute of light is given more emphasis. Our saint speaks of the Holy Trinity as "one glory," as "all light," and as "illuminating the intelligible world."⁹ By "intelligible world" (*noetos kosmos*) he means the world of angels and of human souls. The illuminating activity of God is dwelt upon in connection with the Holy Spirit, of whom I shall speak later. The grace of the Holy Spirit, St. Kosmas asserts, illumined the Prophets, the Apostles, and the Fathers of the Church, and illumines all those who lead a

pious Christian life, praying regularly, confessing and receiving Holy Communion.

Like the attribute of omnipotence, that of life is not discussed.¹⁰ It is clear, however, that Kosmas does not have at all in mind the biological notion of life, but a purely spiritual one.

The creativity of God is referred to more often than his omnipotence and life, and is explained. Although the saint does not employ the term 'creativity,' he refers to God as "Creator," and asserts that he created "heaven and earth," that is, "the whole intelligible and sensible world."¹¹

Turning to the moral attributes of God, we note that the most often mentioned one is goodness. There are innumerable statements in the Didachai in which God is said to be "all-good."¹² St. Kosmas sees the goodness of God conspicuously in the creation of the physical world *for our sake*.

God, [he says], Gave us such a great earth in order that we may dwell here temporarily; He gave us so many thousands of plants, fountains, rivers, seas, air, day and night, the sky, the sun, and so on. For whom did He make all these, except us? What did He owe us? Nothing. All these are a gift.¹³

Saint Kosmas also sees the goodness in the goal for which He created us. "God," he says, "did not create us for the devil and for hell, but for himself and for Paradise."¹⁴

Intimately related to his goodness are the other moral attributes that were mentioned earlier: compassion, mercifulness, justice, and love. God, the Holy Trinity, is asserted to be "compassionate"¹⁵ and "all compassion."¹⁶ He is said to be "very merciful."¹⁷ and at the same time just.¹⁸ St. Kosmas emphasized the justice of God. Thus, he says: "God is compassionate, but he is also just. He has an iron rod; and just as he chastised Adam and Eve, so he chastises us also, if we do not act rightly. Adam and Eve transgressed the commandment of God, and they were exiled from Paradise."¹⁹

The Aitolian saint places special emphasis on the attribute of love. Thus, he says: "Our all-good and very merciful God, my brethren, has many and different names: He is called light and life, and resurrection; however, the chief name of our God is and is said to be love."²⁰

Having spoken of the Holy Trinity taken in its unity, let us now turn to the three persons of the Trinity, and see what the divine Kosmas says about each of them. About the Father, he does not

say much. The Father is always mentioned first, when the three persons of the Trinity are listed, the Son being mentioned next, and then the Holy Spirit.²¹ We have already seen this in the two illustrations of the Holy Trinity. In the second illustration, we saw how the Father is said to be the timeless begetter of the second person of the Trinity, the Son and Logos. The Father is also spoken of as eternal and "almighty."²³ These attributes he has in common with the other two persons.

About the second person, the saint has much more to say. He speaks of him as "perfect God and perfect man,"²⁴ as "the Son and Logos of God and true God,"²⁵ as "Son of man,"²⁶ as coeternal with the Father,²⁷ as the creator of the whole world, intelligible and sensible,²⁸ as the life of all,²⁹ as wisdom,³⁰ as the only teacher.³¹ Especially characteristic of St. Kosmas' references to Christ is the adjective "sweetest." He often speaks of Christ as "our sweetest Master" or "our sweetest Jesus Christ and God."³² This appellation evinces the profound love which St. Kosmas had for Jesus Christ, viewed as all-good, compassionate, humble and meek, in accordance with our Lord's own statement: "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and humble in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light."³³ The expression may be taken also to evince the spiritual joy which he experienced as he invoked Jesus in his practice of the Jesus Prayer, to which he refers several times in his *Didachai*. His younger contemporary, St. Nikodemos the Hagiorite, who also practiced this prayer, says in his *Handbook of Counsel*: "You will experience ineffable joy if you should come to love and practice mental prayer, or prayer of the heart, unceasingly remembering the sweetest name, the joy-giving and most beautiful giver of light, Jesus."³⁴

The Incarnation of Christ, his being born as a man by "our Lady Theotokos and Ever-Virgin Mary," is, remarks the blessed Kosmas, a result of his great goodness towards mankind.³⁵ Christ "condescended," he says, "and became perfect man by the Holy Spirit and from the purest blood of the Theotokos, in order that we might escape from the hands of the devil and become sons and heir of his kingdom, to rejoice forever in Paradise together with the angels, and not to burn in hell with the impious and the demons."³⁶

The third person of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, is declared to be consubstantial with the Father and the Son.³⁷ His importance in relation to man lies, as St. Kosmas speaks of the Divine Spirit,

particularly in the fact that he illumined the prophets, the apostles and the fathers, and bestows sanctifying grace upon all pious Orthodox Christians. With regard to the prophets, apostles, and fathers, he remarks: "We leave aside, my brethren, the prattlings of the impious, the heretics, the atheists, and say only what the Holy Spirit illumined the holy prophets, the apostles, and the fathers of the Church to write for us."³⁸ Elsewhere, being more specific, he says: "The Holy Spirit illumined first the holy prophets, and they wrote for us the sacred Scriptures. Secondly, he illumined the holy apostles. And thirdly, he illumined the holy fathers, and they explained the books of your Church, so that we may know where we are walking."³⁹ As an example of the prophets, the divine Kosmas cites Moses. He quotes the opening sentence in the book of Genesis: "In the beginning God created heaven and earth," and remarks that Moses made this statement, and those that follow, "illumined by the Holy Spirit."⁴⁰ In connection with the apostles, he observes that besides illuminating them, the Holy Spirit conferred upon them the gift of healing. With the grace which they received from the Spirit, "they healed the blind, the deaf, the lepers, those possessed by demons."⁴¹ With regard to the faithful in general, he notes the efficacy of Holy Communion in drawing to them illuminating divine grace. The Holy Eucharist, he says, when preceded by candid repentance and approached with fear and reverence, "illuminates one and renders him like an angel."⁴²

In presenting the Orthodox doctrine of God in his *Didachai*, St. Kosmas was not concerned with the mere transmission of theological knowledge, but rather with helping people transform themselves and their lives by utilizing this knowledge. It is essential that one have a true conception of the Diety; but this conception should not be taken as mere information to be stored in memory as dead academic knowledge: it should be consciously entertained. Thus, the Saint remarks: "Whoever has his mind on God is rendered worthy by him of living well here and of going to Paradise."⁴³ He tells his listeners much about Christ, because he regards knowledge of Christ as of great value for us. Thus, he observes: "In our Lord Jesus Christ is seen the Holy Trinity";⁴⁴ and again, "in the prayer 'Lord Jesus Christ, . . . have mercy upon me, a sinner,' what does one see? One sees the Holy Trinity, our God, the incarnate dispensation of our Christ."⁴⁵ These statements are in accord with what Christ himself says in the Gospel according to John: "I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father, but

by me. If ye had known me, ye should also have known my Father; and henceforth ye know him, and have seen him.”⁴⁶ Orthodox theologians explain that we know God the Father in Christ through the grace we receive from the Holy Spirit. As grace is drawn to us most effectively through continual prayer, especially mental prayer or prayer of the heart, St. Kosmas takes the opportunity to urge his audiences to practice the Jesus Prayer, saying mentally: “Lord Jesus Christ, Son and Logos of the living God, through the intercessions of the Theotokos and all the saints, have mercy upon me, a sinful and unworthy servant of yours.”⁴⁷ This is a longer form of the Jesus Prayer, the shorter form, recommended by the ascetic-mystical Fathers whose texts are included in the *Philokalia* being: “Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me.”

Through this prayer, remarks Kosmas, we not only come into relation with the Holy Trinity, receive divine grace, experience God, but we also make progress towards our ultimate goal, which is to attain salvation, to “go to Paradise.”⁴⁸ With the cross and the prayer ‘Lord Jesus Christ,’ ” he says, “all the saints went to Paradise.” He adds that through the cross and the Jesus Prayer “all diseases are cured.”⁴⁹

St. Kosmas does not content himself with mentioning the attributes of God, but takes every opportunity to indicate their relevance to us. Thus, he not only says that God is very merciful, but remarks that God manifests his mercifulness when we sin: he does not cause us to die and go to hell, but waits for us to repent, to stop doing evil and do good, to confess and correct ourselves, so that he may embrace us and put us in Paradise, to rejoice forever.⁵⁰

In speaking about the goodness and love of God, our Saint likewise takes the opportunity to point out the relevance of this divine attribute to us. Thus, he says that it is our duty to love God and do his commandments, because God, out of his goodness and love for us has given us this great earth to dwell on and has made provision for all our needs.⁵¹ Our Saint also notes that our Lord Jesus Christ shed his blood for us, and hence we in return ought to love God and if need be shed our blood for him.⁵² This, he notes, is precisely what prophets, apostles, and countless martyrs have done. “They shed their blood out of their love for the Holy Trinity, and they attained Paradise and rejoice forever.”⁵³

In connection with God's love for us, the blessed Kosmas observes that God loves the humble; and in the light of this he urges his listeners to avoid pride and to cultivate the virtue of humility.⁵⁴

One could cite other examples of the saint's endeavor to make the Orthodox view of God relevant to the everyday life of men. But these should suffice.

The message of St. Kosmas to his fellow Christians regarding their proper relation to God could be summed up in these few words: orient yourselves decisively towards God. Keep your mind and aspirations turned to Him.⁵⁵ Abide in the Orthodox Christian faith.⁵⁶ Fulfill the divine commandments.⁵⁷ Pray to God as often as possible to have mercy upon you. Glorify and worship daily the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.⁵⁸

NOTES

1. Augustinos N. Kantiotes, *Ho Hagios Kosmas ho Aitolos* (Athens, 1966), *Didache* 1, p. 92; cf. *Didache* 6, p. 209. All citations of Kosmas' didachai are from Kantiotes' book. The first number refers to the number of the didache followed by the page reference.

2. Kantiotes, 1, 92; cf. 1, 93; 5, 191.

3. *Ibid.*, 1, 92-93; cf. 2, 142; 6, 209-10; 8, 265.

4. *Ibid.*, 1, 95; 5, 191.

5. *Ibid.*, 1, 93.

6. *Ibid.*, 8, 298.

7. *Ibid.*, 1, 93.

8. *Ibid.*, 1, 93; 5, 191.

9. *Ibid.*, 1, 92-93, 95; cf. 5, 204; 7, 232.

10. *Ibid.*, 1, 95; 4, 172; 7, 234.

11. *Ibid.*, 1, 85; 3, 134; 6, 207.

12. *Ibid.*, 1, 92, 95, 102, 103, 106, 110, 112; 2, 137, 141; 4, 157, 158; 5, 192, 194, 196, 201, 203, etc.

13. *Ibid.*, 1, 95; cf. 6, 210.

14. *Ibid.*, 7, 234.

15. *Ibid.*, 1, 100, 101, 114; 3, 137; 4, 182; 5, 193.

16. *Ibid.*, 1, 93, 95.

17. *Ibid.*, 1, 93, 95, 100.

18. *Ibid.*, 1, 114; 5, 193.

19. *Ibid.*, 1, 114; cf. 2, 136; 5, 193.

20. *Ibid.*, 1, 95; cf. 1, 96, 100; 6, 209.

21. *Ibid.*, 1, 92, 117, etc.

22. *Ibid.*, 4, 177.

23. *Ibid.*, 8, 288.

24. Ibid., 2, 121.
25. Ibid., 1, 89; 2, 121; 4, 172; 8, 298.
26. Ibid., 2, 121.
27. Ibid., 1, 93.
28. Ibid., 1, 85; 3, 134; 6, 207.
29. Ibid., 1, 89; 3, 134; 6, 207.
30. Ibid., 2, 121.
31. Ibid., 1, 89.
32. Ibid., 1, 85, 108, 118; 2, 134; 4, 156, 179; 6, 207; 7, 220, 223, 239, 256; 8, 259.
33. Matthew 11: 29.
34. *Symvouleutikon Encheiridion* (2nd ed., Athens, 1885), p. 145. Cf. St. Nektarios Kephala, *To Gnothi Seauton*, "Self-Knowledge" (2nd ed., Athens, 1962), p. 183.
35. Kantiotēs, 1, 85.
36. Ibid., 1, 85; cf. 1, 114; 5, 206.
37. Ibid., 1, 93.
38. Ibid., 1, 92; cf. 4, 170.
39. Ibid., 2, 135; cf. 7, 221.
40. Ibid., 5, 189.
41. Ibid., 1, 86; cf. 6, 208; 8, 263.
42. Ibid., 4, 164.
43. Ibid., 3, 150-151.
45. Ibid., 8, 173.
46. John 14: 6-7.
47. Ibid., 3, 140-141; 6, 213; 8, 273.
48. Ibid., 8, 273.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid., 1, 95-96.
51. Ibid., 1, 95.
52. Ibid., 1, 96.
53. Ibid., 1, 93-94.
54. Ibid., 1, 102.
55. Ibid., 3, 150-151.
56. Ibid., 1, 117; 4, 180; 6, 213.
57. Ibid., 1, 110-111; 6, 213.
58. Ibid., 1, 93, 119; 2, 141-142.

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St. Photios the Great. By Asterios Gerostergios. Belmont, Massachusetts: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1980. Preface by Constantine Cavarnos. Pp. 125. Frontispiece. \$7.00; Paper, \$5.00.

Saint Photios the Great (820-891) has long been a controversial figure in the history of Eastern and Western Christendom. Some scholars would even trace the beginnings of the schism between Eastern and Western Christianity to 867 when Photios challenged the rights of the pope in Bulgaria, called into question certain Roman practices, particularly the proposed *filioque* in the creed, and also questioned the pope's right to judge the canonicity of the election of the patriarch. Twice elected Patriarch of Constantinople (in 861 and in 877), he was a very learned layman who in six days received all ecclesiastical ordinations (monk, reader, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, and bishop), pressed to do so by government and bishops alike. His elevation to the episcopal throne inaugurated a new period for the Eastern Orthodox Church in particular and Christianity in general. The distinguished Byzantine historian G. Ostrogorsky in his *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1957, p. 199) has noted that: "For the Church this marked the opening of a time of upheaval, probably the most disturbed period which the Byzantine Church had known. Photios was the most distinguished thinker, the most outstanding politician, and the most skillful diplomat ever to hold office as Patriarch of Constantinople." Father Francis Dvornik, whose work on Photios has done more perhaps than any scholar—Roman Catholic or otherwise—to restore the historical figure of Photios to its rightful prominence in his pivotal book *The Photian Schism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948, pp. 432 ff.) acknowledges that "We shall be free once more to recognize in Photius a great churchman, a learned humanist and a genuine Christian, generous enough to forgive his enemies and to take the first step towards reconciliation. On the literary side Photios has always ranked fairly high amongst those scholars who have studied his writings; in this field his name always commanded respect, as his contemporaries, friend and foe alike, unanimously testified. Scholars familiar with his literary work were not inclined to believe all the stories brought against him by his opponents; they were true to the scholar's instinct which prompted them to feel that a man who spent his best days amongst books, in the company of the best representatives of the classical period and daily contact with many devoted disciples, was not likely to descend to such meanness and petty ambition as were imputed to him by his enemies; and it was a right instinct which led them to honour a scholar who has been prominent in transmitting Hellenistic culture to posterity."

A gifted scholar, a leading Byzantine personality, a teacher, hierarch, missionary, and diplomat, Photios for the Orthodox Christians is a revered saint, "a champion of Orthodoxy, defender of the Orthodox, pillar and foundation of the Church, an instrument of grace, chosen vessel, divinely sounded harp of the Spirit, fiery orator, most wise hierarch, illustrious teacher of the world,

in word and doctrine, trumpet which proclaimed the procession of the divine Spirit from the Father, even as the son of the Thunder (Evangelist John) had spoken with divine authority, most steadfast adversary of heresies, censurer of the error of heresy, divine advocate of Orthodoxy . . . most holy Father, great Photios, illustrious in word and namesake of light" (Cited by Father Gerostergios on pp. 93-94 of his book from John Karmires, *Two Byzantine Hierarchs and the Schism of the Roman Church*, Athens, 1950, p. 65).

In his attractively produced book, the Reverend Asterios Gerostergios, author of *The Religious Policy of Justinian I and His Religious Beliefs* and holder of a doctorate from Boston University, attempts to give us a full and true picture of Photios's personality and contributions from the point of view of the original sources. The ten concise chapters deal with Photios's birth and origin; his education; the first fruits of that education; the ecclesiastical and political situation at the time; Photios's election to the Patriarchal throne of Constantinople; his first patriarchal reign; his first deposition and exile; his second patriarchal reign; his second deposition and death; and Photios and the schism between Eastern and Western Christendom. The book is graced with a selection of hymns from the feast day of Saint Photios the Great (in Greek and English), notes, a brief selected bibliography (that does not seem to know George L. Kustas's important work on Photios); and an index of proper names.

Though occasionally polemical in tone and marred by typographical errors and unidiomatic English, *St. Photios the Great* is still a valuable supplement to works currently available about Photios and places this great Byzantine figure in proper historical perspective.

John E. Rexine
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REVIEWS

Illustrated Manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai. Kurt Weitzmann. Collegeville, Minnesota. St. John's University Press for the Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library and the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, 1973. Pp.34; 32 plates; 46 figs. \$2.00. Paper.

Any work, no matter how brief, by the eminent Byzantine art historian Kurt Weitzmann of Princeton University is bound to command attention, particularly when it deals with St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai, which "still preserves a great wealth of historical and artistic monuments which give it a unique importance in the history of Byzantine civilization" (p.5). The contents of the present richly illustrated publication represent a lecture delivered at St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota, on 31 October 1972. Because of its original nature it should not be lost in the mass of Byzantine bibliography but should be duly noted and brought to the attention of all Byzantinists who are well aware of the importance of St. Catherine's Monastery, originally dedicated to the Holy Virgin, where it was erected between 548 and 565 in the rocky desert at a height of 5000 feet at the southern tip of the Sinai Peninsula. Since its foundation, St. Catherine's has been "one of the great centers of pilgrimage of the Christian world, equal in importance to those of the Holy Land, and its vicissitudes are clearly reflected in the riches of its library" (p. 34).

It is, of course, the library which provides the primary focus of this brief treatise because the Sinai monastery possesses the earliest known masterpieces of iconography (going back to the sixth century), and with its more than three thousand manuscripts it contains the largest collection of any Greek monastery in modern times. Noteworthy, too, is the apse of the church, which houses the most magnificent early Christian mosaic representing the Metamorphosis (going back to the foundation date of the Church). The library collection has a polyglot character as evidenced by its more than two thousand Greek, several hundred Arabic (almost exclusively Christian and primarily liturgical and patristic texts), about three hundred Syriac, one hundred Georgian, forty Slavic, and one Latin manuscripts, reflecting residence and worship by the Syrian, Arabic, Georgian, Latin, Slavic, and Greek monks—all adherents of Chalcedonian Orthodoxy.

The Age of Constantine and Julian. By Diana Bowder. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1978. Pp. xiii + 230. 1 map + 51 plates. \$30.00.

Julian the Apostate. By G.W. Bowersock. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1978. Pp. xii + 135. Frontispiece + 9 plates. \$12.50.

Of late there seems to have been an abundance of books on Julian the Apostate and even on Constantine the Great, two Roman figures clearly important for the development of the early Christian Church and highly instrumental for the direction that Christianity would take. Recent books have been careful to review both Constantine and Julian more critically without the imposition of an intervening Christian bias. Diana Bowder's book, the longer and the less interesting and less articulate of the two books reviewed here, rightly views the fourth century as a momentous period during which the struggle between Christianity and paganism was finally resolved. The conversion of Constantine to Christianity and the failure of Julian to reestablish paganism as the official state religion mark for her the watershed between the old pagan Roman Empire and the new Orthodox Christian Byzantine Empire.

It is presumably through her study of the art and architecture of the period that Diana Bowder intended to make her distinct contribution by showing the action and interaction of the two religions in imperial policy at all levels of society by surveying the numerous surviving monuments, public and private, pagan and Christian, from the point of view of the light they cast upon the religious and social life of the population but, in fact, this is only partly accomplished since much time is spent going over familiar ground in rather familiar ways. The six basic chapters of the book deal with "The Beginning of the Late Empire: Diocletian and the Tetrarchy"; "The Constantinian Period: Imperial History and the Official Monuments"; "The Churches of Constantine and Helena"; "The Emperors, the Church and the Pagan Establishment"; "The Pagan Revival of Julian the Apostate"; and "Christian and Pagan Life and Art."

Dr. Bowder sees in Constantine a tough, almost ruthless but realistic general and sincere ruler for whom "The monogram of Christ was thus invested from its very origin . . . with a powerful charge of imperial victory-mystique, and the sign of the Redeemer, the spiritual Saviour, came to have connotations of salvation on a more terrestrial plane, of the Empire, of the emperor with whom the safety of the Empire was intimately bound up, and of the soldiers who fought under its protection" (p. 23). Constantine's victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge (312) was to have momentous consequences for Christendom. With the 'Edict of Milan' (313) Christians were never again to be subjected to systematic and general persecution in the Roman Empire. As a reformer, Constantine created a highly mobile central army reserve and the new posts of *magister peditum* (master of infantry) and *magister equitum* (master of cavalry), which were directly responsible to the emperor and were the highest ranking officers in the army. Separation of military and civil power was completed. Other reforms included the consulship, coinage, social policies that were more benevolent to the poor and defenseless. He also reinforced the principle of compulsory heredity and fought against judicial corruption.

Diana Bowder sees Julian as "the last pagan emperor of Rome, architect

of an important pagan revival, that he is most justly famed" (p. 54) but also one in whom "a certain emotional streak in Julian's character made him hunger for sensational religious experiences, despite his love of the true Greek intellectual philosophy" (p. 98). Julian noted that much of the success of Christianity was due to the compact, hierarchic structure of the Church which gave it a distinct advantage over the amorphous organization or lack of organization of the pagan cults. Julian vainly tried to exalt and purify the pagan priest's life, make the high priest of each province engage in large-scale, Christian-like charity, and remove classical education from the hands of Christians. In all of this he ultimately failed, though absolutely convinced of the rightness of his cause and position but "the Roman world was effectively Christian, a process hastened in the West by the trauma of the great invasions and the collapse of Roman rule. The signs of triumph were already there in the flourishing Christianity of the Constantinian period" (p. 193).

Glen Bowersock's little book on Julian, inspired by a seminar on Julian conducted at Harvard in 1976, provides a sharp-sighted personal picture of the Roman emperor who began as a Christian and ended up calling Christianity "atheism." Through a close examination and prudent use of primary sources, Bowersock reconstructs for us the best and most accurate picture of the Apostate now available. It is a fair picture that credits Julian with cleaning out the bureaucracy, restoring the senate of Constantinople, strengthening the councils of the Greek cities, restoring city properties, reforming the imperial courier system and the tax collection process, and engaging vigorously in philosophy. But ultimately this strange pagan cloaked as a Christian, this young general who achieved such striking military success in the West, characterized by cunning, candor, self-righteousness, and ostentatious fairness, was to be revealed as an experienced dissembler, a man of powerful religiosity, puritanical asceticism, and political acumen, who was determined to wipe out the stain of the "godless" (i.e. the Christians). As Bowersock so succinctly puts it, "He never contemplated any other solution to the religious problem than total elimination. His view of Christians was utterly intolerant from the start" (p. 85). But Julian's fanaticism, though genuine and determined, was overcome by his ambition that unwisely led him back to battle with the Persians in Persia where he was killed on 26 June 363 near Ctesiphon by a spear that one Christian commentator has called "the lance of paradise, the lance of justice." Julian's successor was the Christian Jovian. "The whole transformation which Julian had set in motion stopped abruptly with his death. He tried to reshape the world according to his personal vision, and that vision vanished with him" (p. 118).

In times when institutional Christianity has been much weakened and subjected to never-ending criticism for what it is not doing and should be doing, it is well to review that part of the fourth century of the Christian era in which Christianity met its challengers and emerged all the stronger. Bowder

and Bowerstock, in two different ways, provide us with the opportunity to review the aims and achievements of two determined Roman emperors, who, with Constantinople as their capital city, had different visions of a universal Roman empire—one Christian, one pagan—but actually confirmed, through their actions, the emergence and viability of an Orthodox Christian Byzantine Empire.

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Byzantium and the Papacy 1198-1400. By Joseph Gill, S.J. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1979. Pp. xii + 342. \$23.50.

This scholarly tome should be of interest to students of medieval history of both the Greek East and the Latin West, to Church historians and theologians, as well as to anyone interested in religious studies and ecumenical relations. In twelve compact chapters the well known author of *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959) and *Personalities of the Council of Florence* (Oxford, 1964), examines the outstanding events of more than two centuries as they affected the contacts of the two Churches. Though he writes as an historian, Father Gill analyzes important theological issues with clarity and conviction. His work is a balanced and scholarly treatment of a complex and difficult historical period. As one would have expected, the negotiations about the union of the two Churches are examined in the context of political events, of the social and cultural background of the two worlds of medieval Christendom.

The 'Great Schism' of 1054 between Western and Eastern Christendom, and the disastrous Fourth Crusade, which made that schism real, did not prevent the two worlds of Christendom from seeking ecclesiastical union. Father Gill demonstrates that both the Greek and Latin Churches seriously desired the union. But then what was the main reason for the failure of each unionist effort? "The root reason was the ecclesiology of the medieval Latin Church," he writes. As far as the Latin Church was concerned "there could be only one church with one faith and one supreme authority. That faith was the bond of unity of the whole Christian community and the one authority was that of the keeper of the faith, the pope." Thus the Greeks who did not accept that ecclesiology "were called 'schismatics' and 'heretics' . . . they were not of the one Church outside of which there is no salvation" (p. 245).

On the other hand "the Greek opposition to union in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was not a sudden upsurge of anti-Latin sentiment. It was the consequence, heightened by political circumstances of divergent outlook and development that dated from the earliest centuries of the Church's life" (p. 250). These are important acknowledgments coming from the pen

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The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition is a book that will astound the uninitiated, for whom it will be both intricate and unreadable. For the humanist it represents a tool of philological research that uses a scientific method even the most scientific mind will admire. For the theologian the present book will make little difference to his theology, even though Eusebios is known as the Father of Church History.

Ever since the time of its composition in the early fourth century A.D. until the period of the Reformation, the *Chronicle* of Eusebios was considered the standard text for world chronology from the birth of Abraham (2016 B.C.) till the Vicennalia of Constantine (325 A.D.). Universal in scope, it ranged over the history of the Greco-Roman world, Biblical history and the history of the Near East. Though it does not survive in its original language and con-

venient and innovative format, within fifty years of Eusebios's death, translations, epitomes, redactions, and extensions of it began to appear. In the Middle Ages it was consulted through secondary sources, and it was the mediaeval translations and epitomes that were copied rather than the original Greek text. Till the late sixteenth century Eusebios's *Chronicle* was known only through the Latin version included in Saint Jerome's *Chronicle*. Presented as a show-piece to the Roman synod of 382, it was the vulgate edition of the most substantial part of Eusebios's work—the *Chronological Canons* that Saint Jerome reproduced. Jerome continued it to his own day and expanded its scope to accommodate his Latin readers and he excluded from his work Eusebios's introductory chronographic excerpts.

Scholars have for centuries been trying to reconstruct Eusebios's original. Most noteworthy for the beginning of modern scholarship on the subject was Joseph Scaliger's historical criticism of the traditional chronology of antiquity as preserved by Saint Jerome. Eusebios had brought two main standards together—the years of Abraham and Olympiad years—with his lists of the Persian kings. Mosshammer discusses Jerome (382), Scaliger (1606), The Armenian version (1787), Schoene-Petermann (1866-75), Mommsen (1889), Schoene's *Weltchronik* (1900), Schwarz (1907), Karst (1911), Fotheringham (1923), Helm (1913-56), and Caspar (1926), and concludes that Eusebios composed his *Chronicle* in two parts: (1) the *Chronographia* or first book, available only in an Armenian translation which consisted of a general preface and discussion of the chronological systems of the ancient Mediterranean world with summary lists of their kings; (2) the *Chronological Canons*, which presented annual lists in synchronistic tabular form together with brief notices mentioning important persons and events contemporaneous with the years of the lists—more completely preserved in the Latin translation of Saint Jerome than in the Armenian translation.

Alden Mosshammer organized his study in two general parts: Part 1. The *Chronicle* of Eusebios and the Greek Chronology. The first part dealt with the text of the *Chronicle*, Greek chronography, an excursus on the chronological method of Appollodoros, and an examination of the sources of Eusebios. The second part examines early Greek chronology in Lycurgos, Hesiod, Arctinos and Eumelos, Tyrtaeos and the Messenian Wars, Archilochos, Alcman and Stesichoros, Lesches, Terpander, and Arion, the Cypselids, Pittacos, Sappho and Alcaeos, Thales, Anaximander and Anaximenes, Pythagoras and Pherecydes, Polycrates, Anacreon, and Ibycos and the Tragedians. There are scholarly notes to each chapter and a very substantial selected bibliography and index.

Despite the narrowness and technical nature of the subject, *The Chronicle of Eusebios and Greek Chronographic Tradition* offers the first full treatment in English of the most influential chronicle of late antiquity—a chronicle that in substance was never superseded and still needs to be consulted.

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THE CHURCH AS A PRESUPPOSITION FOR THE PROCLAMATION OF THE GOSPEL

This brief essay does not pretend to exhaust the topic under discussion. It only offers a few basic views and remarks in the tradition of the Eastern Orthodox thought. Hopefully, it will be of some use to my readers.

As I try to answer the question how the Church is a presupposition to the preaching of the Gospel, I deem it necessary to respond first of all to the question: What is the Gospel, and what is the Church?

What is the Gospel?

Evangelion is the good announcement, the good news. It is the good news of our salvation in Christ, announced and proclaimed first by Christ and then by Christ's disciples.

The message of our salvation in Christ, whose kernel is to be found in Saint Peter's preaching on the day of Pentecost, is the basic message of the entire revelation of God, treasured in the Holy Bible. It is the unique message of the entire Bible, that of the old covenant, and that of the new. The God of our fathers, the God of the prophets and the patriarchs, reveals himself in history as the God of our salvation. He prepares that salvation through the setting apart of the old chosen people, the old Israel. He gives that salvation to the new chosen people, the new Israel, through his Christ, the author of the new covenant of God, sealed by his own redeeming blood. Christ is the center of the history of God's salvation. The Christ event, completed with the event of the descent of the Holy Spirit, makes God's salvation a reality and a possibility for the entire fallen human race.

The Gospel proclaims and celebrates the message of salvation in Christ, the message that God gave humankind the possibility of participating in his glory through Christ's exaltation and glorification and through the operation of the Holy Spirit of God. The Gospel is thus the announcement of this new order of things in Christ, the proclamation of the kingdom of God being inaugurated in Christ and through Christ, the kingdom coming in power through the descent of the Spirit, and accompanied with specific signs, the mighty works of the Holy Spirit (Mk.16.17).

It is those *magnalia dei*, the mighty works of God throughout history, as completed by his Christ and as revealed and given by the Holy Spirit for participation by all of humankind that the disciples announce the day of Pentecost. The Risen Christ sends the disciples to teach all nations about these mighty works of God, and to call them to fully associate themselves with these deeds, through baptism of the water and the Spirit. The disciples accept the order which they execute with the assistance and guidance of the Holy Spirit. They are the witnesses (*martyres*) of the *magnalia dei*, and especially of Christ's death and resurrection, in the Holy Spirit. Sent by the Risen Lord to be his witnesses to Judaea, and Samaria, and Gallilee and to the extreme parts of the earth (Acts 1.8), the disciples accepted this missionary responsibility for the salvation and transfiguration of humankind and of the entire created and fallen world: Everything is restored in Christ; everything is new in Christ; there is a new creation in him. Things of the old have passed away, new things have been created in Christ! (2 Cor. 5.17). This is the message of the apostles, and especially of Paul. Along with the proto-apostles, he is sent to announce and proclaim salvation in Christ: he best expresses the feelings of every apostle-proclaimer of the Gospel when he says: "Woe is me, if I do not preach the Gospel!" (1 Cor. 9.16).

The apostolic community followed the example of the proto-apostles and Paul. The proclamation of the Gospel is always central in its life. Witnesses like the *Didache of the Twelve Apostles*, Saint Irenaios, and almost all the fathers of the Church, of both East and West, testify to this concern of the community established by the apostles, following their example. It is this community that we call the Church.

What is the Church?

The Church is specifically that covenant and apostolic community, to which salvation in Christ is revealed, through which this salvation is proclaimed and attained.

God reveals himself and his mighty works including salvation in Christ not to individuals only, but to a people, his chosen people, to a community, the covenant community, both the old and the new. God calls a people to be set apart and be used as an oasis in the midst of the fallen world, as a means through which God's salvation is given to the world. These people are his people, and he is their God. He is their Father, and they are his sons and daughters (2 Cor. 6.18). It is this chosen people of God, the people of the

covenant, that fully participate in the blessings of God's salvation in Christ. It is this people that becomes part of the new order of things in Christ, of the new reality, new creation, new life in Christ. For these people are organically associated with Christ, having Christ as head and as cornerstone and they being Christ's body and living stones of the holy temple of God, gathered together, inhabited, and enlivened by the Holy Spirit of God.

The Church as *ekklesia* (*qahal*) is a corporate reality, a unity of persons called together by God which reflects the kind of society that the Holy Trinity is. For the Church is created after the image of the Holy Trinity, in whose life it participates. As there is hierarchy in the Holy Trinity, there is hierarchy and structure in the Church. As there is equality of persons in the Holy Trinity, there is equality of persons and personal destinies in the life of the Church. The Church is only one communion of saints, in which all saints, all Christians, are called to respond to the common call to holiness. At the same time, hierarchy and structure in the Church is part of the being of the Church as instituted by Christ. The people of God is not left without leaders; the body of Christ is not an amorphous accumulation of cells, but an organic body, with distinct parts having distinct functions. The holy construction, the holy temple of God is not without foundations, columns, and cornerstones. The apostles lie in those foundations, having Christ as the cornerstone, and having the apostle's successors as pillars which hold the temple standing and united.

The Church is apostolic, which means that the Church not only is founded on the apostles, but also follows the life, mission, and doctrine of the apostles. It continues to proclaim the apostolic message and to live the life of the apostles, a life renewed by Christ, a new life in Christ. The Church continues the apostolic witness to this new, healed, resurrected, transfigured, glorious and powerful life in Christ and the Holy Spirit, the life of the kingdom which is to come fully, but which is at the same time inaugurated through Christ the king and his royal Spirit.

Being the body of Christ, Christ's extension, and according to Saint Augustine, being "Christ perpetuated into the ages," the Church assumes all those functions which are in Christ: Christ is the savior of the body, the only savior of this world. The Church makes Christ present to the world, mediates Christ's salvation to the world; through it Christ continues to reconcile the world with God, to enlighten and enliven it with his truth, to govern and direct everything to achieve salvation in him.

According to an old scholastic distinction, which goes back to Eusebios of Caesarea, Christ is the great priest, the prophet, and the king. The Church continues this threefold ministry of Christ, mediating salvation to the world, proclaiming the Gospel of salvation, and leading people to this salvation through this proclamation, and through its sacramental life.

Thus, the Church proves itself to be the pillar and bulwark of truth (1 Tim. 3.15), as it fully identifies itself with Christ, the living truth (Jn. 14.6), and as it leads human persons to an existential encounter with this living truth.

How is the Church a presupposition for the proclamation of the Gospel?

The Church, as the covenant community, is the place where the word of God is to be found, for it is to the holy people of God, "His own possession," that God revealed his truth, his salvation in his Christ. It is to this community that the announcement of this salvation was given; it is through this community that this announcement was proclaimed and is proclaimed to the world; it is in that community that "faith which was once delivered unto the saints" is to be found, sustained, and propagated,

As the body of Christ, as an extension of Christ, even as "Christ perpetuated into the ages," the Church reflects the truth of Christ, being the "pillar and bulwark of truth." Christ, the living, incarnate truth, is present in the Church, calling each human person to a personal encounter and relationship with him. Thus, the Church not only calls to salvation in Christ (which is the content of the Gospel), but also communicates this salvation, allowing a personal experience of this salvation in Christ and through Christ.

Being a structured community, after the image of the Holy Trinity, and an apostolic community, in continuity with the proto-Christian community, the Church has in its leaders (specifically, bishops as successors to the apostles) the guarantees of continuity in the proclamation of the apostolic message of salvation in Christ. The bishops, among other tasks, have the responsibility of "proclaiming aright the word of truth" (Divine Liturgy). They are the teachers and prophets *par excellence* in the community, reflecting and embodying the teaching ministry of Christ and of the Church.

Since the Church is also a charismatic community, being the temple of the Holy Spirit and receiving his gifts, it experiences special gifts of teaching, not only in its bishops and other clergy, but also in lay teachers, who, under the authority and direction of the

bishop share also in the bishop's responsibility to "teach aright the word of truth" and proclaim the Gospel.

The Church is also a *communio sanctorum*, not only as communion of saints, but also as communication in holy things, or a communion of holy things. These "holy things" (*sancta*), are the word of God, the Holy Bible, the Holy Gospel itself. The proclaimed word of God, the Gospel, is a sacrament in itself, inasmuch as a sacrament is a means of grace which leads to salvation in Christ through the work of the Holy Spirit. Also, the rest of the sacraments and other messianic gifts in the life of the Church, are the other "holy things" in which members of the messianic community (the Church) share together. Three of these sacraments have a special significance in terms of the proclamation of the Gospel: baptism, confirmation, and Holy Eucharist..

It is through these three sacraments that we are fully incorporated in the new life in Christ, and we bear its fruits. According to the late Father Georges Florovsky, "The true proclamation of the Gospel would be precisely the practice of this new life: to show faith by deeds" (cf. Mt. 5.16). And also: "The Church is more than a company of preachers, or a teaching society, or a missionary board. It has not only to invite people, but also to introduce them into this new life, to which it bears witness. It is a missionary body indeed, and its mission field is the whole world. But the aim of its missionary activity is not merely to convey to people certain convictions or ideas, nor even to impose on them a definite discipline or a rule of life, but first of all to introduce them to the new reality, to *convert* them, to bring them through their faith and repentance to Christ himself, that they should be born anew in him and into him by water and the Spirit. Thus the ministry of the Word is completed in the ministry of the sacraments."¹

Baptism, the sacrament of water and the Spirit, is of course, much more than a ritual: it is the sacrament of repentance, of renouncing Satan and the fallen world, renouncing one's old self in order to be fully incorporated into Christ, to fully participate in the new life in Christ, the life of resurrection. At the same time, one is fully a participant in the royal priesthood of all the believers, thus sharing in Christ's threefold ministry, including the prophetic one.

Confirmation, our new pentecost, is the sacrament of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, among which is the gift of teaching and proclaiming the Gospel.

Finally, the Holy Eucharist is the sacrament which gives to the

Church the strongest presupposition of proclaiming the Holy Gospel. The Eucharist is Christ himself, as the Eucharist is also the sacrament of the Church. It is at the Holy Eucharist that the Church is fully present in its apostolic faith, doctrine, and practice, in the fullness of its apostolic and ecclesial life. Celebrated by the bishop or the priest in continuity with the apostles, the Eucharist is the celebration of the Word of God coming to the world and preaches the Gospel of salvation (Liturgy of the Word), and also the actualization of the Lord's death and resurrection (Liturgy of the Sacrament). Christ the King is present on the altar, through the operation of the Holy Spirit. The Eucharist is the actualization of Christ's resurrection and Pentecost since the Spirit, the *eschaton* breaks through into history, allowing us to participate in the kingdom of God anticipated and made present. The foretaste, the present reality of the kingdom which is to come fully is experienced by the faithful at the Eucharistic celebration. The gifts are consecrated to become Christ's presence, and the faithful are sanctified through the operation of the Holy Spirit of God. The gifts, and through them the faithful, are transfigured; in this the transfiguration of the whole cosmos is anticipated. It is the Holy Eucharist that the mystery of Christ, "who is, who was, and who is to come" (Rev.1.4; 8.11,17), is proclaimed in the most dramatic terms. One of the most ancient liturgical rites of the Eastern Orthodox Church includes this chant during the anaphora: "Thy Death we proclaim, O Lord, and Thy Resurrection we confess" (St. James Liturgy).

The proclamation of the Gospel in various ways pertains to the essence of the Church. The Church cannot be the Church unless it is holy, set apart in the world, and is apostolic, missionary, proclaiming Christ's salvation to the world. It is the responsibility of the Church always to hand down and proclaim in the revealed truth, once given to the saints, and to live and experience this truth, Christ himself, not as an abstract idea, but as a living reality. The Church always has had, and also has now, in the confused world in which we live, one main function: to proclaim the Gospel of salvation and restore all things in Christ "for the life of the world" (Jn.6.51), an abundant life in Christ and the Holy Spirit (Jn.10.10), a glorious life in God (cf. Rom. 8.17).

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NICHOLAS S. WEBER

THE EUCHARIST AS THE EPIPHANY OF THE CHURCH IN A POST-CHRISTIAN MILIEU

It was in the year 1881, just short of one hundred years ago, that a much maligned, persistently misunderstood, and already slightly insane German philosopher, Friedrich Nietzsche, writing in his *Joyful Wisdom*, proclaimed with a mixture of triumph and sadness the *death of God*. His image was that of a madman who had "lit a lantern in the bright-morning hours" and who had run out into the streets crying out unceasingly, "I seek God, I seek God." And he proclaimed with appropriate hysteria that it was *we* who had killed Him, that we were all *His* murderers. He wondered, indeed marvelled, as to how it was done and who had "given us the sponge to wipe away the horizon." He acknowledged that "what was holiest and most powerful of all the world had bled to death under our knife," and he asked if "we would now have to light lanterns in the middle of the morning," and indeed whether we smelled God's corpse decomposing? (Here, one is immediately reminded of Alyosha Karamazov losing his faith when his saintly Zossima began to stink.) His was a prophecy of what we have learned to call the *Age of Anxiety*, thinking of at least one of a dozen terms since invented to describe our epoch, the world of lonely, searching individuals wandering hither and yon, backwards and forwards, in all directions, building new calves of golden metals, all in an unrelenting search for meaning in a disorganized world. His was a philosopher's reflection on the sociologist's *anomie* and the poet's *ennui*. He had predicted the existential crisis of modern man, a world in which, as he stated in the conclusion of his madman's homily, the churches were fast becoming nothing other than the tombs and sepulchers of the dead Christian God.

Nietzsche was sensitive enough to shed tears over this most important and life-destroying death, although he himself came to believe that he had discovered in his *Overman*, in his transvaluation of all values, particularly in his new reaffirmation of pagan values, and especially in the so-called "eternal recurrence," a new

truth which could shore him and his world up as the old faith structures declined. His death in a mental institution (like Ivan Karamazov's insanity) is an appropriate symbol of the failure of our world to build a new religious world-view. We are left in a world without any faith, without any community, thus without any church. Nietzsche's insights and prophecies refer only to the world and not to any given individuals in that world who with the help of the Holy Spirit have maintained their faith structure intact, in whatever church that truly functions in our contemporary world. But, can anybody really deny the deep crisis of Christianity in our over-secularized world, half destroyed by its faith in industry, science and technology, and its modern ideological visions that have attempted to take the place of the *Good News* proclaimed once and for all almost two thousand years ago? The age of Pisces is astronomically passing, and with it that Christianity whose earliest symbol was the fish.

The erosion of Christian belief, and especially that faith in the Eucharist as the mystery of mysteries, is an undeniable fact of contemporary life. For the remaining believers, half-mocked and half-ignored, the churches have become, once again, catacombs, and for the millions that go to church out of habit and convenience, the churches have become sepulchers. And there are so many others who live in a state of elemental confusion about the content of their faith. Some months ago (as I write this) a young man reminded me that wherever two or three are gathered together, there is the body of Christ. I could not question the sincerity of his Christian conviction (or better of his conviction that he was speaking the truths of Christianity), but I sensed that he was talking about simple human fellowship which no longer needed the life-giving sustenance which could only come from consuming the body and blood of the eternally sacrificed Christ, from the repeated invocation of His Name, from the Liturgy of the Word itself, from the credal formulas of the Church, any church for that matter. On the contrary, his feeling for Christ, although deeply felt, was sentimental, and he could not understand in what manner human fellowship depended upon fellowship in and with Christ through Whom God has been revealed to us. To him it would have been scandalous to suggest that human fellowship must depend upon the worship of a man crucified and resurrected for our sakes almost two thousand years ago. Interestingly enough, when I questioned him about the significance of the Last Supper,

he was willing to admit some *symbolic* sense involved in the communion of bread and wine, and he was able to acknowledge that the Eucharist at least involved some kind of "thanksgiving" to God for the bounteous things he has created for our *use*. But of the deeper mystery of the Eucharist, let alone of the other things commemorated in the *anamnesis* of the Divine Liturgy – the Cross, the Tomb, the Resurrection on the Third Day, the Ascension into Heaven, the Sitting at the Right Hand, and the Second and Glorious Coming – he had little or no understanding. I wondered what sense he would have made about what the priest intones (in the Orthodox liturgies) immediately after this series of memorials: "Thine Own of Thine Own, we offer unto Thee, in behalf of all and for all," or what signifies those exquisite words, "Holy things are for the Holy," which is chanted by the priest while he takes the Holy Bread in both his hands and elevates it above the altar, or of the choral response that immediately follows: "One is Holy. One is the Lord Jesus Christ, to the Glory of God the Father, Amen"?

Christianity had been reduced by him to a lovely commemoration of an historical event, indeed, "the greatest story ever told." The reality of the symbols involved in that story eluded him almost completely. The function of liturgy, if it had not been displaced in his mind by a Christianity of private devotion and meditation with some reliance still placed on the "Good Book," was at best a human re-enactment of a past event whose edifying features were to be commended. He made it quite clear to me that simple faith in God and remembrance of the saving work of Jesus Christ (whom he saw as His Son only in a metaphorical sense) was what Christianity meant to him. Even as a Christian he appeared to be just as another product of the Reformation and the piety of the late Middle Ages which had already ceased to comprehend the essence of Christianity and the indissoluble connection between the Church and the Eucharist as proclaimed by the Apostle Paul in his First Letter to the people of Corinth. Although Scripture is still read as a popular pastime, how many people fail to understand from their reading that the Church is unthinkable without it being built around the Eucharistic celebration, and that if the Eucharist as the community of Christians communing with God in Christ through the Holy Spirit is displaced from the Church, then there is an ever present danger of the Church being displaced from their lives?

It should be recalled that the great controversies during the late Middle Ages had to do mainly with the meaning of the Eucharist. The idea of the Church, in turn, reflected decisions that were made about the Eucharist. The crisis of Christian belief that Nietzsche grasped so profoundly in the last decades of the nineteenth century was, in reality, opened up in those theological controversies from that earlier epoch (although there is no indication that Nietzsche himself sensed the connection).

Without denying the efficacy of prayer and Scripture, it is only through communion in the Body and Blood that we become the Sons of God, and this in turn can only be accomplished corporately, for there is no such thing as a *solitary Christian*. The Christian Liturgy, the corporate act of the whole Church in its members, reenacts those events in the life of our Lord in which he was made flesh and made his tabernacle in us (Jn. 1.14), and returned to the Father so as to give us the gift of life and make us God's children; to all of us "who received him, who were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, he gave the power to become the children of God" (Jn. 1.12-13). The Eucharist itself, the climax of the liturgical celebration, becomes the only means of our perfect adoption as God's children, by which we are united to His Godhead, and we remember here the famous words of St. Gregory the Theologian: "For that which has not been assumed has not been healed; but that which is united to His Godhead is also saved." It is only in communion that our intimacy with God receives its seal, our union of love in Him, as St. Basil the Great phrases it. In Romans 8.29 St. Paul states that we have been "predestined to be conformed to the image of His Son," and although this is not talked about in a Eucharistic context, it is inconceivable that St. Paul could have believed that there was any other means for this to transpire save through participation in the "awesome mysteries of Christ."

Certainly the Cross remains a scandal, but the Cross itself was necessary if only so that we could then perpetually participate in the Body and Blood of Christ (which, with its overtones of cannibalism, probably remains even a greater scandal than the Cross itself). And if the Cross and the Resurrection of Jesus Christ are to be separated from the Communion of all Christians, then it would really be more appropriate to remember these events only in their proper place in the liturgical calendar, that is, at Easter itself. But if the Eucharist is the central act in the life of Christians, the cli-

max of Sunday worship, toward which every other act of Christian piety leads, and what St. Gregory of Nyssa wrote in his *Magna Oratio Catechetica* remains true even for us – that is,

The God who was manifested mingled himself with the nature that was doomed to death, in order that by communion with the divinity human nature may be deified together with him. It was for this purpose, through God's providential economy, that he plants himself in the believers by means of that flesh, composed of bread and wine, blending himself with the bodies of believers, so that man may also share in immortality by union with the immortal. He bestows those gifts by the virtue of the blessing, 'transelementing' the nature of the visible things into the immortal body . . . ,

– then we must rethink about the scandal of the Eucharist once again.

The ultimate truth of the Christian revelation has in fact become once again a scandal and a folly, a stumbling block and foolishness. It should be no surprise, nothing worthy of being astonished over, that our post-Christian world is not really willing to permit a Christianity that borders on being simply offensive to reason, and has attempted to reduce Christianity to symbol, metaphor and myth, and to hold on to only that part of Christianity somehow palatable to our scientific and rational predilections – "Christianity made reasonable"! Deism is simply safer, and it is much more comforting to our sensibilities to think of Christ as a teacher, a great man, even an earthly messiah. If there was a time in Christian history when the mystery of the Incarnation was not an offense, such a time has long since past for the majority of Christians. What St. Paul declared to the Corinthians in his First Letter (2.20-25) must be restated. The meaning of Christianity is in blatant contradiction to the wisdom of the world; so it apparently once was, and so it is again.

Where is the wise man? Where is the scribe? Where is the debater of this age? Has not God made foolish the wisdom of the world? For since in the Wisdom of God, the world did not know God through wisdom, it pleased God, through the folly of what we preach, to save those who believe. For Jews demand signs and Greeks seek wisdom, but we preach Christ crucified, a stumbling block to Jews and folly to Gentiles, but to those who are called, both Jew and Greek, Christ the Power of God and the

Wisdom of God. For the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men.

In essence, Christianity should not nor cannot be made reasonable, something St. Paul understood from the first when he proclaimed it as beyond reason, a kind of absurdity (to use modern philosophic language) while an existential necessity. It is furthermore beyond reason because man cannot live by reason alone, which unmediated by the truths the heart can accept is incapable of satisfying our deepest longings which are so authentic to human nature — that is, if our reason doesn't destroy our essential humanity. Though reason can analyze the works of God, it cannot tell us that these works are good, let alone beautiful. I am hardly pretending to attack man's gift of reason, but the essence of Christianity is to fathom its limits, and to be able to transcend them.

There is a strange paradox herein involved. Although St. Paul proclaimed the "foolishness" of Christ crucified to both Jew and Greek, the ancient world was probably more generically able to comprehend the teachings of Christianity than our own. Ancient man still lived in a world that could appreciate *mystery*, and wherein the power of God was omnipresent. Post-Christian man is indeed a unique historical phenomenon. Cartesian doubt has dulled his sensitivity. The recapturing of the world of myth, in its true and real sense, in its truth and reality, will be more difficult for us. It is as if the "folly" and the "obstacle" of Christianity is even greater for us than for those men who first heard and saw the wonders God was working in His world. No small wonder that the Christianity of our fathers is now such a stumbling block to so many! Yet, do we have a significant choice? Has the wisdom of the modern world furnished us with any truth more worth our living by than that truth proclaimed almost two thousand years ago? Tools to make life more comfortable, and perhaps more dangerous, we have plenty of, but a faith to structure our existence by, the God beyond all gods, the Christ who has redeemed us once for all, who makes it possible for us to smile, this the modern world has not furnished us. Yet, upon the faith of our fathers does our contemporary salvation rest. Tranquility on earth and a pre-vision of the messianic banquet to come seem to rest solely on the recovery of those very patterns of thinking and feeling that animated the men of the first Christian centuries. The enormity of the task facing contemporary man does not detract from the obvi-

ous fact that we would seem to have no alternative. It is sad to have to realize that the "experiment in modern living" has made the world profoundly unhappy. We may not succeed in recovering the ancient faith structure, but we must indeed make the attempt. I think the world is actually ready for this new attempt, for we now know once again that "man cannot live by bread alone," or that he needs once again that "living bread" which is Christ our God.

Some large part of our task would be to attempt to recover the sense of the Eucharist which was the proud possession of the Fathers both East and West, and which represented their reading of the Scriptural legacy, their concern in what the Eucharist was and its benefits for us, and their seeming lack of concern for the late medieval preoccupation (which was transmitted to the churchmen of both the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation) as to the *how*, the pseudo-science of defining that which is beyond any definition. Although the Fathers of the East employed many words to describe how the elements of bread and wine became body and blood, e.g., *μετασσιχειῶν*, used by St. Gregory of Nyssa, *μεταρρυθμιζεσθαι*, used by St. John Chrysostom, or *μεταβάλλεσθαι*, St. John Damascene's word, the center of their Eucharistic theology was inspired by the sacramental realism of Jn. 6, and a concern for the whole economy of salvation which lay hidden in the meaning of the Eucharist. This is true even in the case of the Latin St. Augustine who, when he defended a *figurative* interpretation of the Eucharist, only did so for fear that his less discerning flock might think cannibalism was involved. Thus he wrote in his *De Doctrina Christiana*, 3.24:

If a command seems to order something immoral or criminal, or to forbid what is useful or beneficial, then it is figurative. 'Unless,' he says, 'you eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man, you will not have life in yourselves.' This seems to order crime or immorality: therefore, it is figurative, and enjoins that we should participate in the Passion of the Lord, and store up in our memory, for our joy and profit, the fact that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us.

St. Cyril of Alexandria, on the other hand, reasoning somewhat differently in his *Homily 22 on Luke 19*, insisted that the thought of cannibalism was to be put aside in another way. St. Cyril was afraid the offense might come if we drank and ate something that

appeared physically to be body and blood. Thus he wrote:

Lest we be struck down with horror at seeing flesh and blood displayed on the holy tables of our churches, God adapts himself to our weakness and infuses the power of life into the oblations changing them into the effective power of his own flesh . . .

It would appear that St. Cyril would not in himself be offended if Christ would appear on the altar as flesh and blood physically, not as bread and wine, received in faith as body and blood. Yet, in reality, and this would appear crucial to the thinking of the Fathers, the sanctification of the first fruits of our existence could take either form, for the bread and wine are seen as equivalents of flesh and blood without turning into symbols, let alone mere metaphors.

The bread in effect was already something living, the obverse of Christ's epiphany as the "living bread," — and because it is living, it was, in some real sense, no longer simply something physical; it was already in the process of being trans-elementized into body. Much of our thinking then might depend upon reevaluating the significance of the image "living bread" which we take for granted or see symbolically only. This was exactly the point St. Gregory of Nyssa made in his Great Oration, immediately preceding the text cited above in this paper. Nicholas Kabasilas, in his famous *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, I, v, views the bread as an oblation already dedicated to God, even before it is consecrated, "as was Christ from his very birth as the living bread. It is dedicated and then offered up." Even more tellingly, Kabasilas describes the bread as being *eager* to be transformed into the true bread which is Christ crucified.

Thus, Christ's own discourse in Jn. 6 makes complete sense. The transition from bread to living bread, and from living bread to flesh is seen as absolutely natural.

"I am the living Bread which came down from heaven; if anyone eats of this bread, he will live for ever; and the bread which I shall give you for the life of the world is my flesh." The Jews then disputed among themselves, saying, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" So Jesus said to them, "Truly, truly, I say to you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you have no life in him; he who eats my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life, and I will raise him on the last day. . . . This is the bread which came down from heaven, not such as the fathers ate and died, for he who eats this bread

shall live for ever" (51-54, 58).

Verses 55-57 are perhaps the crucial ones for Eucharistic theology.

For my flesh is food indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him. As the living Father sent me, and I live because of the Father, so he who eats me will live because of me.

Reading these texts closely with their literalism could almost scandalize, as they certainly scandalized those who heard this discourse (perhaps even the disciples themselves). Jesus himself used this verb (verse 62) in the conclusion of the whole discourse in Jn. 6 (although the modern translators soften the sense with renderings such as "Did this upset you?"). All of a sudden, I too realized that a more figurative or even a symbolic interpretation would have been so much more easy to assimilate. The term "flesh" frightened me; I sensed that the "body" referred to in the synoptic and Pauline accounts of the institution of the Eucharist would be more palatable to my delicate modern sensibilities. Being cognizant also that verse 57 ("so he who eats me") was really saying, he who "feeds on" me, or, more graphically, he who chews me or munches upon me – the Greek *τρῶγων* – the scandal was even more blatant.

Yet, being frightened by the literalness of the text, I also fully realized, and perhaps for the first time, that there was no way of softening the impact of the teaching, for the bread was literally His flesh which He gave to us, which He gives to us, and which could only be given in that He laid down His life for us, so that our participation in His Body and Blood could first become possible, and that is why He died. The text in John drove my mind to something well behind the theology of atonement, etc. He died so we could eat Him – and this understanding was simply beyond the realm of any symbolic interpretation. Faith remains an essential ingredient in our reception of the feast, but especially to remind us that we are not consuming the flesh and blood of a man, but of God Himself. It appears that the Fathers simply accepted that body and blood were consumed as a fact of nature, but that faith alone informed us of the nature of God-Manhood.

The Fathers then could be graphic, and Jn. 6 rather than scandalizing them animated their theology of the Eucharist. Thus, St. John Chrysostom, in his magnificent *Homily 82 on the Gospel of*

St. Matthew, could write:

He commingled himself with us, and not by faith only, but also in the very deed made us his body. What then ought not he to exceed in purity that has the benefit of this sacrifice? What sunbeam should not that hand be more pure which is to sever this flesh, or the mouth that is filled with spiritual fire, or the tongue that is reddened by that most awful blood? Consider, with what sort of honor you are honored, or what sort of table you are partaking from. That which, when angels behold, they tremble, and dare not so much as look up at it without awe on account of the brightness which is present, with this we are fed, and with this we are commingled, and we are made one body and one flesh with Christ. . . . What shepherd feeds his sheep with his own limbs? There are often mothers that after travail of birth send out their children to other women as nurses; but he endures not to do this, but Himself feeds us with His own blood, and by all means entwines us with Himself.

Here St. John Chrysostom not only instructs us as to what the Lord has done for us, but what benefits we have received from partaking of this mystery.

With each one of the faithful does He mingle Himself in the mysteries. And whom He begat, He nourishes by Himself, and puts not Himself out to another; by this persuading us once again that He had taken our flesh. . . . Let us approach this table and the nipple of the Spiritual Cup. Or rather, with much more eagerness let us, like infants at the breast, draw out the grace of the Spirit, let it be our one sorrow not to partake of this food.

Several other Chrysostom passages should be noted here, because they underline so marvelously his sense of the meaning of the Eucharistic Feast. In his own *Homily 47 on John 6: 53ff*, he writes:

Therefore, in order that we may become His body, not in desire only, but, also, in very fact, let us become commingled with that body. . . . And to show the love He has for us He has made it possible for those who desire, not merely to look upon Him, but even to touch Him and to consume Him, and to *fix their teeth into His flesh. Let us then, come back from that table like lions breathing out fire, thus becoming terrifying to the devil, and remaining mindful of our Head and the love which He has shown to us.*

Lastly, let me cite the almost sensuous vision he incorporated into his *Homily 15 on 1 Timothy*:

I pursued thee, I ran after thee, that I might overtake thee. I united and joined thee to Myself. . . . Above, I hold thee, and below I embrace thee. . . . I descended below. I am not only mingled with thee . . . but I am interwoven with thee. I will have no more division between us. I will that we both be one.

Kabasilas in his *The Life in Christ* (4.6) summed up Patristic teaching when he affirmed that the Word clothed Itself with a body so that He could unite Himself with the whole of our nature, to completely *penetrate* us so as to join what is His to that which is ours, totally. (Indeed, without this vision the liturgical phrase, "Thine own of Thine own, we offer unto Thee, in behalf of all and for all," would lose most of its meaning.) "Out of His love for man," so Kabasilas continues, "He received all things from us, and, with even a greater love, joined what is His with what is ours." Through Communion in Him, Kabasilas insists (4.9), we then can share with Christ an even closer communion than that which we have with our own parents in the flesh. He gives us life and sustains us with His living bread forever, and (employing I Peter 1.9 here) the communion in His Body and Blood establishes us as the Church, as a royal priesthood, a chosen race, a consecrated nation, and a people set apart.

Is it wrong to conclude this paper by proposing a Pascalian wager? Would it not be more beneficial to us to return to these roots of belief and to view the Eucharist, in which God unites us to Him as His Church, through the eyes of the Fathers, through that Tradition which, in itself, is only a commentary on the Scriptures? What have we to lose? This world has come so close to devising and inventing a Christianity that can dispense with the Eucharist entirely, that it seems to be in imminent danger of becoming like Nietzsche's dream. We, this world, some of us, all of us, can still as easily – although in much sorrow and travail – be transformed into Christ's likeness from one degree of glory to another, as the Apostle tells us (I Cor. 3.17-18). If the world cannot accept this wager, each of us can, within the Body of Christ, accept it, and turn away from the building of our own special and precious Tower of Babel. Is not the evidence simply overwhelming that the present course must be reversed, and that the Good News, preached *once and for all*, is wherein our freedom and identity ultimately lay?

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**THE 'EXHORTATION TO
FEARLESS CONFESSION'—MT. 10.26-33**

The pericope under examination, Mt. 10.26-33, occurs in the second long discourse in that chapter. The basic purpose of this missionary discourse is to highlight the commission of the disciples as apostles sent to preach the primitive kerygma and to perform mighty deeds in the name of Christ. It is generally recognized that chapter 10 is composed of a number of sub-units which Matthew has joined together and edited to suit the needs of his Greek-speaking Christian community. This pericope, commonly referred to as the 'Exhortation to Fearless Confession,' comes at the end of a section dealing with persecution (vv. 16 ff.) and introduces the last section of the discourse dealing with the general conditions of discipleship (vv. 32-42). In a sense, then, Mt.10.26-33 bridges persecution and the cost of discipleship in terms of content.

What sets these verses apart as a single unit to be considered in itself is the important parallel in Luke 12.2-9, where the entire pericope is also found in the same sequence. Moreover, an examination of the comparative texts in Greek shows that approximately two-thirds of the words are identical or are simply different parts of speech or cognates of the same word. In addition, very little in Luke or Matthew is unparalleled in the other; indeed, these unique parts are incidental to our understanding of the major thrust of the pericope. These three factors in themselves point in the very least to an obvious similarity of message in the two accounts and to a common source (the Q document). Yet, it would be presumptuous at this point to state anything more definite. For we also note that in the Greek the differences in the other one-third of the respective passages may very well be substantial, though at first they might not seem so. Added to this is the decisively different context in which Luke has placed this pericope. It comes at the end of a section on the hypocrisy of the Pharisees and lawyers and indeed is prefaced by a direct quotation in 12:1 to this effect. Of necessity, then, a comparison and contrast with the Lucan parallel will be needed in order both to help clarify the meaning in

Matthew and perhaps to reveal if and how Matthew has edited the material to suit his community's needs.

Lastly we note that two verses of this pericope (vv. 26 & 33) have isolated parallels in Mark and Luke. These also warrant consideration in the hope that they, too, will help to shed light upon Matthew.

Verses 26 and 27 stand in a close relationship to one another and serve as an introduction to the pericope. Verse 26 in particular is note-worthy of attention both because of the Lucan parallel (12.2) which is almost identical and the parallel in Mark 4.22 parallel Lk. 8.17 which, though not identical, is quite similar. Matthew prefaces his use of this verse with the imperative *μή οὖν φοβηθῆτε αὐτούς* which is lacking in other versions. The Greek words *οὖν* ("so," or "therefore") and *αὐτούς* immediately force us to look to the preceeding material of chapter 10, where we can see an obvious connection which Matthew has intended. *Αὐτούς* refers to those unidentified "men" from verse 17 on who will persecute the disciples in various ways. The verb *φοβηθῆτε* appears here for the first of three times in the pericope (vv. 26, 28, 31) and reveals the paraenetic or exhortatory nature of the Matthean context. and since this phrase is not in Mk. parallel Lk. nor in Lk. 12.2, it is very possibly the editorial work of Matthew who is seeking to embolden his community's witness in the face of ongoing persecution.

Since the remainder of verse 26 is nearly identical to Lk. 12.2 it is not unlikely that this represents an alternate form (present in Q) of the saying of Mark 4.22. Even so it is helpful to examine Mark since Matthew's context (persecution) is strikingly different from Luke's (hypocrisy). What we discover is that the saying in Mark comes after the parable of the sower which Christ has explained to the disciples (this is also the case in Lk. 8). Therefore what is "hidden" or "secret" is precisely the meaning of the parables, i.e. the gospel of the coming kingdom of God, which, though at first a mystery explained only to the inner circle of disciples, will be revealed to all the world.¹ By way of contrast, for Luke (12.2) there is never any indication concerning the teaching of Jesus about the kingdom of God. What is "covered" or "hidden" is the hypocritical teaching and actions of the Pharisees and lawyers which indeed is like leaven "hidden" in bread (11.37-12.1).

Within Matthew the force of verse 26 is not entirely clear, but it becomes more evident as a result of this evidence. Mark's indication of parabolic teaching serves as a restraint for interpreting

Matthew as implying that Jesus taught an esoteric, gnostic doctrine. While some of Christ's teaching has been given "in secret" to the disciples, it is given nonetheless so that *all* may come to know. This is strengthened by verse 27 which indicates a direct imperative to the disciples to "utter" and "proclaim" in broad daylight and from "housetops" (a traditional phrase for public pronouncements)² what they have received in private ("the dark").³ At the same time it is not unlikely that Matthew may also be speaking about the insults and persecution which the disciples will face in private or in secret. While the Lucan parallel may or may not suggest this, Matthew's own context does, since he highlights the wickedness of men in vv. 17, 18, 21, and 25. Verses 26 and 27, as already stated, stand in close relationship to one another, so in interpreting v. 26 we must take into account not only the preceding verse (warranted by οὖν) but also that which follows (v. 27).⁴ Chrysostom, interestingly enough, interprets v. 26 ethically in terms of the vice of the persecutors versus the virtue of the disciples and v. 27 as the command to fearless preaching.⁵ However, at best we can only infer that perhaps Matthew also had in mind hidden persecution in v. 26.

What exactly is the original Q form of this saying? Here we can say nothing for certain because there simply is not enough evidence to support either a Lucan or Matthean version. John Martin Creed argues in favor of Matthew because he provides a better connection between verses 26 and 27: both relate to the public proclamation of Jesus' private teachings.⁶ I. Howard Marshall, on the other hand, supports Luke, saying that Luke connects the same two verses better: verse 2 as a general principle is better as a justification for the conclusion drawn in v. 3 than for the imperative in Matthew.⁷ Both positions offer insight yet neither is based upon enough evidence to outweigh the other.

Verse 28 presents some exegetical problems because of the use of *σῶμα/ψυχή* in Matthew and because of the general striking difference in form in Lk. 12.4-5.

Both Matthew and Luke speak of those who kill the body but only Matthew speaks of killing the "soul"; Luke speaks in much simpler terms of "not having more to do after the killing of the body." The reference is thus clearly directed toward those who will persecute the disciples.

Σῶμα in the Greek New Testament is the body of a man or animal—either dead (a corpse) or living (mainly of a human being).⁸ In its present use the only obvious meaning is the latter (since only

this could be destroyed by man).

However, it is evident from v. 28 that this living body is much different from the soul (*ψυχή*) and indeed seems to stand in contrast to it. Men are able to kill the body but not the soul. What, then, can soul mean? Chrysostom more or less equates the "killing of the body" to physical death and the "killing of the soul" to eternal death. For him this is thus a clear reference to the "immortality of the soul" as a saving doctrine; the body is the "inferior part" of man.⁹ His interpretation is along the lines of classical Greek anthropology which defines man as the sum of two basic, but unequal, parts. This could be substantiated, in part, by the very distinctive parallels in Wisdom of 16.13 and 4 Macc. 13.14f. where soul is used in a very secular Greek manner. But does the passage warrant this understanding? An examination of the uses of soul in Matthew and the other Synoptics reveals that, to a large degree at least, this word is based on the Hebrew *nepes* which carries three basic psychological ideas: (1) the vital life principle in man that requires food and can be killed (Mt. 2.20, 6.25, 11.29, 20.20; Mk. 3.4; Lk. 12.19-20), (2) the seat of thought and emotions (Mt. 12.18, 22.37, 26.38; Lk. 1.46, 2.35), and (3) the real self of man, higher than either (1) or (2) (Mt. 16.25-26; Mk. 8.35-37; Lk. 9.25, 56, 21.19).¹⁰ Certainly only the last of these ideas could be helpful for understanding v. 28. In addition we notice the Lucan parallel and Mt. 10.28b, both of which point to an understanding of man in a wholistic sense. For the former omits the use of soul and body in hell.¹¹ It is also not unlikely that Luke has preserved the original form of the Q saying and that Matthew has used the Greek in order to render Luke's wording more precise.¹² Even still, though, it is interesting to note that *only* here of all the Synoptic usages is the soul contrasted to the body. Therefore, Matthew appears to have taken the Greek word *ψυχή*, and, while not denying the unity of man, has employed it in such a way as to reflect the Greek nuance.

Who, though, does Matthew intend when he speaks of "him" who is capable of destroying both body and soul in hell? Our options basically come down to two—Satan or God. Krister Stendahl seems to argue in favor of the former since, during ultimate trial and temptation, Satan's power is great (Mt. 6.13, 24.22).¹³ But the overwhelming evidence points against this.

First, the verb *φοβέομαι* in the New Testament is followed by either the accusative or by *ἀπό* plus the genitive to denote the fear of someone or something.¹⁴ But in the Septuagint, when God is

the object of fear, the *ἀπό* construction is never used except in a few isolated instances (Hag. 1:12; Ecc. 3.14, 8.12f.).¹⁵ All the other uses call for the accusative, and this is exactly the form of *φοβέομαι* that is used in v. 28b in contradistinction to v. 28a which refers to men and uses *ἀπό* plus the genitive. Secondly, on the basis of the New Testament we can see that Christians are instructed to resist the devil (James 4.7), not to fear him. Even in the New Testament fear is often connected with God or His Holy name (Lk. 1.50, 18.2-4, 23.40; Acts 10.2, 22, 13.16; Col. 3.22; 1 Pet. 2.17; Rev. 11.18, 14.7, 15.4, 19.5).¹⁶ Thirdly, Luke's version of one "having power (*ἐξουσίαν*) to cast into hell" also supports this, since the devil has no such power.¹⁷ And finally, if we recall the Apocryphal parallels mentioned before (Wis. 16.13, and 4 Macc. 13.14f.) we are further forced to admit that Matthew is here referring to God, whom it is more fearful to disobey than men.¹⁸

While it may be impossible to determine to any great degree of certainty the original Q form of the saying present in v. 28, it is nonetheless generally recognized that this is an authentic teaching of Jesus. The language is simple (ever moreso in Luke) and the thought, as we have examined is Jewish: *φοβέομαι* is from the Septuagint, and soul and body are seen in the totality of man.¹⁹ Added to this is the distinct word "Gehenna" which is a Greek derivative from the Hebrew *ge Hinnom*, "the valley of Hinnom," an accursed valley nearby Jerusalem which acquired eschatological notions of punishment in the afterlife for apostate Israelites shortly before the time of Christ.²⁰ The fact of Gehenna is confirmed elsewhere in the Synoptics (Mk. 9.53, 55, 57; Mt. 5.22, 29f., 23.15, 33). From these we can see that here in v. 28 it is used to designate the place of torment for those condemned at the final judgment.²¹

In essence, then, Matthew's message in v. 28 picks up on the exhortation to fearless confession from the first two verses of this pericope but also adds a solemn note. For while the disciples are encouraged not to be afraid of men who cannot destroy their real self, they are reminded of the power of God and are counseled to fear Him and the final judgment, for Gehenna is a fate worse than physical death.²² This accords well with the context of chapter 10 concerning mission and persecution and with the life situation of Matthew's church which, indeed, was facing much persecution from without. And finally we note that v. 28 raises an important theological implication. For if men can kill the body but only God

from without. And finally we note that v. 28 raises an important theological implication. For if men can kill the body but only God can destroy *both* body and soul in hell, then it is implicit that the *entire* man will be raised and come under judgment.²³

The next three verses (29-31) concern an analogy between birds and the apostles and present no major exegetical problems as the preceeding did. At the same time it is worth considering their placement within this pericope since there is no obvious connection of them with the rest of the passage.

Essentially both Matthew and Luke contain the same material. The only apparent differences occur in v. 29 par. Lk. 12.6. *Στρουθίου* is the diminutive for *στρουθός*, meaning sparrow, and occurs seven times in the Septuagint for any small bird.²⁴ Whether or not the word in this context refers specifically to sparrows²⁵ is of relative unimportance; the point here is simply the reference to a very common bird used for food, necessary in order to set up the contrast with the disciples, upon whom Matthew consistently places great importance throughout his gospel. T.W. Manson argues that Luke's form of five birds (Matthew has only two) is perhaps more original because the number five in Jewish reckoning is approximately the same as the English phrase "half a dozen."²⁶ However, this too has no real bearing on the meaning of the passage, and it certainly could not tell us anything about Matthew as an editor. The word *δραχμῶν* refers to a unit of money equal to less than a penny, so these birds indeed are not worth much at all.²⁷

The second half of v. 29 may be more original than Lk. 12.6b. Not only does Matthew's expression about "falling to the ground" (RSV) connect with v. 30 ("hairs of your head") better than Luke's "not one . . . is forgotten" (RSV),²⁸ but this same expression, denoting the death of the bird, blends in more effectively with the whole atmosphere of the pericope created by v. 28. For even though Luke does not place this saying within a missionary context as Matthew, he too, is concerned with persecution, even unto death (11.47-51, 12.4-5). Finally, *ἐν ὧπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ* appears to be a characteristic Lucan usage.²⁹ The Matthean form of this—*ἀνευ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν*—seems to be a little more obscure and is translated literally in the King James' version as "without your Father." But the RSV has "without your Father's will" which would reflect more a Hellenistic Greek understanding on the part of Matthew.³⁰ However, it may not be that God *wills* the death of sparrows, any more than He wills the death of the disciples.

Rather it is possible that what Matthew simply intends to say here is that neither death is deprived of the presence of God.³¹ Divine providential concern, which extends even to the smallest of details (v. 30) is one more reason why the disciples should not fear, especially because they "are of more value than many sparrows" (v. 31, RSV). The emphasis on the disciples in Matthew is further heightened by the position of the pronoun *ὁμῶν* (v. 30) before *δὲ καὶ* (not so in Luke); for this strengthens the contrast between them and the birds.³²

Overall, then, the differences between Matthew and Luke in these verses are not substantial, and it would be difficult to ascribe any clear reason for editorial alteration on the part of either author. Very possibly we are faced with two forms of an oral tradition.³³ In Matthew the general force of the analogy serves to confirm what was said earlier: God, not Satan, is to be feared. He is purposeful and active in everything that happens, from the death of a common bird to the persecution of the disciples who will not be exempt from martyrdom because they are faithful to Him. On the contrary their genuine witness to the Lord will surely result in suffering.

Verses 32-33 mark the conclusion to the Matthean section on endurance under persecution (vv. 17-31).

The word *οὖν* (absent in Luke) again is quite possibly an editorial insertion by Matthew. The verb *ὁμολογῶ* has various shades of meaning in the New Testament as in the LXX, but here it refers to "acknowledgement" (as also in Rom. 10.9, 1 Jn. 2.23) of Jesus as the Messiah.³⁴ To this verb is contrasted *ἀρνεῖσθαι* in v.33 ("to deny," RSV) which is used again in Matthew only of Peter's denial (26.70, 72).³⁵ The disciples, Matthew stresses, are to proclaim Christ fearlessly, for the Father will take care of them even though they are persecuted and even killed. However, as in v. 28, we have yet another warning, this time by way of reciprocal contrast. Again, though, there are significant differences in expression in Matthew and Luke even if they concur to a large extent. First, Matthew has *καὶ ἐγώ* ("I also") in place of *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* in Luke. Which is the original? The argument in favor of the original Q form without the "son of man" phrase in it is based mainly on three factors: (1) the passive is used in the main clause in Lk. 12.9 for the verb *ἀρνεῖσθαι* ("son of man" is absent), (2) Matthew omits this phrase, and (3) the "son of man" in Lk. is an advocate of the faithful before God, whereas in the Synoptic parallel Mk. 8.38 parallel Lk. 9.26 (cf. also Mt. 16.27), the "son of man" in Lk. is

an advocate of the faithful before God, whereas in the Synoptic parallel Mk. 8.38 parallel Lk. 9.26 (cf. also Mt. 16.27), the "son of man" is judge himself.³⁶ The first two of these reasons are not valid since the subject would not necessarily have to be repeated in v. 9 (both verses in Luke stand in close parallel relationship), and it is totally unfounded to cite Matthew in support of himself. The third reason does pose a valid point, but the majority of scholarly opinion favors the originality of the "son of man" in Q, and this certainly seems more plausible. One reason for this is that this phrase occurs again right at the end of the Lucan pericope in v. 10 and serves to distinguish (but not separate) the earthly Jesus from the coming "Son of man," though there is an implicit identification of the two.³⁷ Very likely, then, Matthew has made what was implicit explicit. He replaces the "son of man" with "I" on the lips of Jesus and thereby highlights the eschatological role of the Lord.³⁸

This same reasoning could apply to the Matthean form "my father who is in heaven," which again focuses on Jesus and expresses both His sense of close filial relation to God (as understood by Matthew's community), and God's authority and fatherly care of his loyal servants.³⁹ Luke uses the phrase "the angels of God" which is an expression for "in heaven" or "in the presence of God."⁴⁰ Here also it is quite possible that Matthew has edited the original Q form of Luke (Mk. 8.38 par. Lk. 9.26 also mention "the holy angels") to serve further to sharpen the identity of the Messiah and his present and future role in Matthew's community with regard to true confession (or denial) of Him and the coming Judgment.

In essence, then, Matthew presents in vv. 32-33 a reciprocal relationship between the disciples and Jesus, the consequences of which are eternal. On the one hand (v. 32), the disciples are encouraged by the providence and concern of God (vv. 29-31) to confess in Christ as Messiah and Lord, for no matter what the outcome, they will have a sure advocate before the Father and will gain eternal life. On the other hand (v. 33), if the disciples deny Christ in the face of persecution and suffering, they will just as surely be convicted by the Lord before the Father and, hence, will be destroyed in Hell. There is an obvious contrast between the judgment-seat of men and the divine judgment-seat of God, but this does not necessitate in and of itself that Matthew had in mind a forensic situation, though this certainly cannot be ruled out, either.⁴¹

In summary, we can say that Matthew has, in this pericope, adapted some original sayings of Jesus and revised them to fit into his missionary discourse in chapter 10. These sayings could each have conceivably stood by themselves, but given the parallel in Luke, they must have already been connected in Q. At times, Matthew seems to have preserved the original form of the saying in Q; elsewhere he appears to have sharpened the language of Luke. By doing so, Matthew presents Christ more explicitly as Lord and Savior than Luke. Unquestionably we have seen how his modification also connects each saying both with the pericope itself and with the whole context of the discourse—all of which highlights the missionary message he wishes to present. Through commands, injunctions, analogies, and even encouraging and threatening examples—all of these are present in this pericope—Matthew seeks to exhort and embolden his fellow Christians to proclaim the good news to all, through word and deed and in spite of persecution, that God has come in the last times through the person of Jesus Christ, His Son and the Messiah of Israel, to dwell among His people.

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19. Marshall, "Uncomfortable Words," p. 277.
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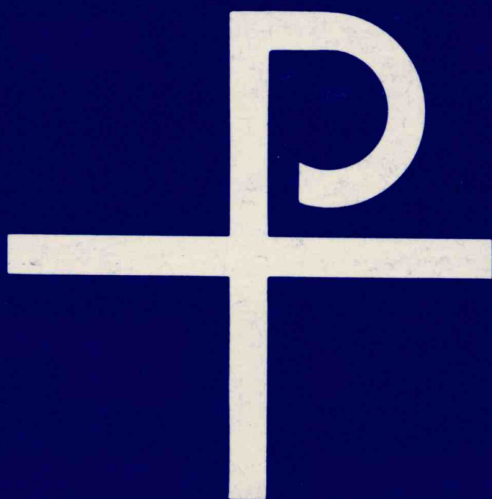
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**The
Greek
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Review**

Twenty-fifth Year



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CORRECTION

In the study by the Reverend Thomas Fitzgerald, "A New Phase in Orthodox Roman-Catholic Relations," **The Greek Orthodox Theological Review**, 20, Number 2 (1980), His Beatitude Shnork was referred to as the Patriarch of the Armenian Catholic community in Istanbul when in fact he is the Armenian Orthodox Patriarch of Istanbul and all Turkey.

REVIEWS

Ο ΔΟΣΙΘΕΟΣ ΙΕΡΟΣΟΛΑΤΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΤΟΡΑ ΑΤΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ
ΡΟΥΜΑΝΙΚΑΣ ΧΩΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΝ ΑΤΤΩΝ By Ioan V. Dura.
Athens: Chr. Vaidou Press, 1977. Pp. 292. Paper.

Dositheos of Jerusalem was one of the most important figures of the late seventeenth century. He has been compared to the early fathers of the Church by the church historian Vasileios Stephanides. It was not, however, the purpose of Duras' study, submitted as a doctoral dissertation to the School of Theology of the University of Athens, to substantiate the claim to such fame. Instead, the author, a Rumanian by birth, sets out to investigate the contributions of Dositheos to the Rumanian people and their Church. The results of the investigation help dispel the prejudice regarding stagnation in the Orthodox Church during the Ottoman period.

It was in the last three decades of the seventeenth century when the expansionism of the Ottomans into Western Europe had been contained by the combined military efforts of the Russians, the Venetians, and the Austrians. This does not mean, however, that all was well with the Orthodox Christians living in the Balkans and the Near East. Orthodoxy during this period experienced moments which threatened not only her unity, but also her very existence. On the one hand surrounded by a suspicious and fanatical Islam, and on the other hand the victim of the proselytizing activity of both Roman Catholics and Protestants, Orthodoxy was in dire need of any support she could muster. It was at such a time that Dositheos appeared and made his important contribution to Orthodoxy in general.

In his Introduction (pp. 9-38), the author provides us with a detailed biographical account of Dositheos' life and accomplishments. This necessary background prepares us for the remainder of the study, which has as its focus Dositheos' associations with the Rumanian people and their Church. One is immediately impressed by the simplicity but at the same time the grandeur of this remarkable person who combined a variety of talents. Having been made aware of this, one is better able to appreciate the degree to which Dositheos affected the Orthodox world in general and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in particular.

The center of Dositheos' activities in behalf of all of Orthodoxy were the Rumanian lands of Moldavia and Wallachia. It was here that he spent most of his years as patriarch in view of the privileged status of these lands as opposed to the other Balkan lands

under Ottoman domination. Through the introduction of lengthy documentation, chiefly correspondence, the author allows the primary sources to speak for themselves of Dositheos' contacts with influential persons of his day. The frequent, lengthy quotes appearing throughout the text are especially helpful because of the authentic way in which they portray Dositheos.

The image of Dositheos that emerges is that of a self taught man with a practical mind, a polyglot with a profound understanding of the Fathers, one who was informed of the existing political and ecclesiastical situation as were few of his contemporaries. Because of his own ingenuity and the personal contacts he cultivated, Dositheos became a dominant figure of his time, who was capable of protecting the interests of Orthodoxy. Just what these interests were can be ascertained from the dexterity of his diplomatic efforts to prevent Orthodox Christians from apostatizing to Islam. In addition, much attention was given to upholding the rights of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem over the shrines of the Holy Land, as well as in planning a strategy for dealing with the Ottomans. In all these endeavors, Dositheos found both moral and material assistance from the rulers of Moldavia and Wallachia. This fact helps explain his extended sojourn in their midst.

Parallel to the fear of apostasy to Islam was that of proselytism by both Roman Catholics and Protestants. The missionary zeal especially of the former by means of the Uniate Movement under the Hapsburg Dynasty makes sad reading. It would do well for us — both Orthodox and Catholics involved in the enterprise of reconciliation — to review this chapter in East-West relations in order to appreciate more fully some contemporary reactions to dialogue. Yet, as has been shown time and again throughout history, some positive results of otherwise unhappy events in history have not been totally lacking. In God's providence, such, too, has been the case with this episode.

It is in the area of defending Orthodoxy against proselytism from the West that the charge of theological stagnation, chiefly by theologians from the West, is challenged. In his desire to protect Orthodoxy, Dositheos met his adversaries head-on by employing the same methods and strategy. Consequently, schools and printing presses were established, from which numerous writings of an apologetical and polemical nature were published and circulated freely.

The many accomplishments of this remarkable ecclesiastical personality mentioned throughout the study become even more

Word and Spirit, 1. A Monastic Review in Honor of St. Basil the Great. Still River, Massachusetts: St. Bede's Publications, Pp. xii + 195, one illustration. Paper.

Word and Spirit: A Monastic Review is a new Roman Catholic annual devoted to monasticism. It is fitting that such a review has begun its existence with an issue devoted almost entirely to Saint Basil the Great in commemoration of the sixteen hundredth anniversary of his death (+379).

As with most journals and collections of essays, *Word and Spirit* is difficult to review. The articles tend to be uneven in quality, style, and scholarship, with a frequently overlapping treatment of the same subject. Unfortunately, no effort was made to give the reader an overview of the significance of the life and work of Saint Basil for the common Christian theological tradition. The first article, however, by Maisie Ward is properly the most general and considers "Saint Basil and the Cappadocians." Ward's article, a posthumous reprint, does manage to cover a great deal of Basil's life and his relations with Gregory of Nyssa, his brother, and Gregory of Nazianzos, his close friend. This same general introductory theme is carried through in the brief second article by William Meninger, "Basil's Brother, Gregory of Nyssa" in which the influence of Basil's family, a family literally filled with saints, is discussed.

The next two essays focus more specifically on Basil's so-called rules for monastic life. Both Adalbert de Vogue and Basil Pennington elucidate the basic theme introduced in Ward's article of the interrelation between Basil's social and spiritual thought as it comes to fruition in his monastic regulations. For Basil there is an essential tension between *idiazein*, separation from the world, and *koinonia*, the need for human community. It is here that Basil's genius approaches the existential needs of modern people. The paradox briefly stated by de Vogue: "The love of God and of neighbor generates in fact a kind of life separated from the world and, at the same time, communal . . ." (pp. 66-69). Normal human life is essentially social, whether in the monastic or secular condition. Both separatedness and connectedness are necessary to human spiritual and emotional health. This social theme is continued in an exceptional article by Basil Pennington, "Working with Saint Basil," in which the author treats a subject rarely dealt with by Orthodox, the role of physical labor (even care of tools) in Orthodox monastic tradition.

The treatment shifts to the theological and ecumenical with the late Jean Cardinal Danielou's "The Fathers and Christian Unity" which mentions Basil in an effort to disabuse the modern reader of any notion of a golden age of patristic unity. Such a golden age never existed. Yet, in spite of the persistence of theological polemic, Basil represents for Danielou an example of firm moderation in the midst of rhetorical and partisan excesses. This irenicism of Basil, incidental to Danielou's study, is taken up by the Basilian authority Jean Gribomont in "Intransigence and Irenicism in Saint Basil's 'De Spiritu Sancto.'"

Covering much the same formative territory as Danielou, he concludes that the period (325-381) was largely a struggle for a consensus terminology, a struggle which called for great patience as well as definitions that were both flexible and workable. Gribomont takes up the question of Basil's reticence in affirming the Holy Spirit as explicitly *homoousios* with the Son and the Father. Why did Basil take so long in his affirmations? How can "his reserve, his silences," be explained? In the process of answering the questions, he analyzes the current bibliography on the question (pp. 111-12) noting the previous assumption had been, on the testimony of Gregory of Nazianzos, that Basil was simply frightened of the reaction of Valens and the Arian party (p. 118). On the contrary, Gribomont affirms, Basil kept his silence not out of fear but out of *economia*, the search for true agreement and peace—"he did not link the Orthodox faith to a verbal definition." This interpretation is significant and certainly speaks to some of the issues considered radical by Roman Catholic traditionalists in Hans Kung's *Infallible?* on the propriety of propositional formulae in theology. This does not mean that Basil did not know what he believed, but he defined it, out of charity, negatively. The following article by Cyril Karam "Saint Basil on the Holy Spirit" pursues this theme in agreement with Gribomont: Basil's "reticence was for the sake of gaining the weak." The Church was not yet ready for a new definition since there was no generally accepted vocabulary for discussing the dynamic of the Holy Trinity. Perhaps one of the greatest contributions of Basil to the Church was his decisive terminological contribution to the resolution of the Arian conflict and his recognition of the necessary limitation of language in expressing truth.

These seven articles constitute the main substance of *Word and Spirit*. In general, the articles are excellent in spite of their different styles and scholarly approaches. *Word and Spirit*, however, remains a collection of articles and reprints; it embodies all the weaknesses of an effort to bring together already existing material into a unified whole. The collection is a hodge-podge which could have benefited from a tighter editorial hand. The main effect is an overlapping of themes and materials, and, at the same time, a lack of controversy. There are also significant lacunae in the treatment of Basil's contribution to Christian theology. For instance, there is no treatment and but one mention of his very significant *Hexaemeron*, the prototype of hexaemeral literature both East and West. Certainly, a discussion of Basil's commentary on creation would have been in order inasmuch as it embodies his view of nature and grace which became the pattern for later Orthodox development. In addition, more could have been said on Basil as a theologian of social mutuality. These are but the minor criticisms of a reviewer with his own interests in Saint Basil. One can only hope for a continued interest in Basilian studies and wish *Word and Spirit* well as it pursues its stated goal of promoting "a critical interest in the myriad aspects of our Christian heritage with its riches, difficulties, struggles, crises, and achievements" (p. ix).

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Greek Americans: Struggle and Success. By Charles C. Moskos, Jr. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1980. Pp. 162. Hardcover, \$9.95. Paper. \$6.95

This new book which has just come off the press should be of great interest to Americans of Greek descent and to specialists in ethnic studies and cultural pluralism. Written by a professor of sociology at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, and of Greek descent himself, the book climaxes many years of research and study.

Presenting the Greek experience in the United States as a blend of ethnic pride and resourceful participation in American society, Dr. Moskos explores the many facets of that experience. The incredible hardships of the earlier immigrants, the gradual emergence of many as secure members of the middle class, the above-average educational and income achievements of their children and grandchildren, and the still unfolding story of new immigrants from Greece arriving during the past decade and a half—all are recounted in a way that will fascinate Greeks and non-Greeks alike.

While giving full credit to the Greek-American "best of both worlds" adaption—where ethnic and family cohesion remain strong while accommodating comfortably to American standards—*Greek Americans: Struggle and Success* resists any impulse to romanticize the history of Greek immigrants or to minimize the culture shock these men and women endured. Tracing the darker side as well as the many triumphs, Moskos details: the ill-fated 1760's New Smyrna, Florida settlement, whose brutalized few survivors escaped to St. Augustine; the reasons behind the need for economic gain which was the overriding motive for Greek migration; exploitation of Greeks by Greek or other earlier-arrived labor "agents"; the use of Greek immigrants at the turn of the century as strike-breakers in the mines of Utah and as pick-and-shovel railroad workers in the West; the highly publicized riot against Greeks at South Omaha, Nebraska; the initially hostile reception of Greeks as factory workers in New England; the Greek peddlers and shoe-shiners in the cities of the North and the emergence of major Greek settlements in Chicago and New York; the role of Greek women in America; the development of Greek Orthodoxy in the new country and the various cultural, literary, and political currents in Greek America; and finally, the early and continuing success of Greek Americans as restaurant and small business owners.

The book has divided the Greek-American experience into five or more distinct stages: 1) a time of false starts in the period before 1890; 2) the era of mass migration from 1890 to 1920; 3) the formation of Greek-American institutions from 1920 to 1940; 4) the era of consolidation from 1940 to 1965 within Greek America; and 5) the contemporary period since 1965 of increasing Greek-American diversity. Within these periods the author has excitingly reconstructed the story of the Greek-American experience. The story has been updated by the inclusion of the findings of the scholarly papers presented at the 1976 Bicentennial Symposium of the Greek Experience in America at the University of Chicago which he helped to organize. The story

is rounded out by a chapter "Growing Up Greek American: A Family and Personal Memoir" in which the author recounts his own personal experience, one with which many Greek Americans will identify.

Being a sociologist, Moskos has included a chapter on "The Sociology of Greek Americans" in which he competently analyzes the factors that have contributed to Greek American achievement and the persistence of ethnic identity among succeeding generations of Greek Americans. Among the dominant characteristics of the Greek-American experience he cites that of "embourgeoisement" which resulted from the enterpreneurial ability of Greek immigrant ("a phenomenon consistently noted by every American observer"), which brought them early into American middle class society. Another is the strong sense of individualism which brought about "differentiation and disension" within the Greek-American experience but which contributed to their successful entry into American society" while maintaining strong communal ties." Other factors, such as the role of the Greek Orthodox Church, family cohesion and value for education, likewise contributed to the Greek-American success story. Professor Moskos cites as evidence of this success story the 1970 U.S. Census report which revealed that second-generation Greek American men and women "were 70 percent more likely to have completed college than the native white population," and with reference to income levels, "Greek Americans enjoy earnings 13.6% higher than the native white average."

Using sociological concepts, Moskos includes in a surprising but thought-provoking way that acculturation—that is, the acquisition by immigrants of the cultural behavior and norms of the host society, has lagged behind that of assimilation—the entrance of the ethnics into the very fabric, that is, social cliques, business life, civic association, and families of the host society. This pattern is different from other immigrants he observes, for how else are we to understand the "continuing Greek Orthodox affiliation and the baroque structure of organized Greek America in the face of such assimilative measures as economic ascendancy, political representation, and even inter-marriage." In this respect, concludes Professor Moskos, for the "upwardly mobile and geographically dispersed American born Greeks...ethnic identification is more a matter of cultural choice than a constraint of the social structure." Consequently, Moskos suggests that by looking at the variable of descent, culture, and self-identification and their changing interaction from the initial arrival of the immigrants to the present, "one can ascertain not so much the degree of continuity of the immigrant heritage, but, also account for the appearance of new forms of ethnic consciousness that may alternately wane and wax in genesis." Thus for the grandchildren of the immigrants, and, "even more so, the great-grandchildren. Greek ethnicity is not so much a matter of cultural transmission, but one of voluntary participation in Greek-American institutional life."

This authentic account of the success and failures of Greeks in adapting to the ways of this land brings to light many little-known 'first' of high achiev-

ers of Greek origin and provides long-overdue appraisal of the contribution of this ethnic group to American culture. The book is compact in size and while not as extensive as *"The Greeks in the United States"* by Theodore Saloutos, published in 1962, and under whom Moskos studied at the University of California at Los Angeles, the book is eminently readable and, as a publication of Prentice-Hall Ethnic Groups in American Life Series, should make for an excellent text in college courses in multicultural education.

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BOOK NOTES

ΤΟ ΑΥΤΟΚΕΦΑΛΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΑΛΒΑΝΙΑ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΥ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ
ΕΠΙ ΤΗ ΒΑΣΕΙ ΑΝΕΚΔΟΤΩΝ ΕΓΓΡΑΦΩΝ. By Apostolos A. Glavinas.
Ioannina: Society of Epeirotic Studies, 1978. Pp. 431. 8 plates.

Glavinas, utilizing archival materials of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece, the Society of Epeirotic Studies in Ioannina, surveys the events leading to the uncanonical declaration of autocephaly made by the Orthodox Church in Albania in 1922 which was regularized by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1937. In addition, the author interviewed many of the surviving protagonists who participated in the above events. With this study, Glavinas has made a solid contribution to the history of the Albanian Orthodox Church.

Ο ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΣΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ Ο ΙΟΥΔΑΙΣΜΟΣ ΕΝ ΑΙΘΙΟΠΙΑ, ΝΟΥΒΙΑ
ΚΑΙ ΜΕΡΟΗ. ΤΟΜΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ. By Metropolitan Methodios of Axum.
Athens: n.p. 1979. Pp. 419.

The volume includes chapters on 1) Ethiopian languages; 2) Ethiopian manuscripts; 3) Christianity in the kingdom of Axum; 4) Christianity in Ethiopia; 5) the Falashas with an appendix on the question of the 'Nine Saints,' their origin and teaching. It concludes with an English summary.

Metropolitan Fouyas, who has served as the Orthodox Metropolitan of Axum in Ethiopia, a metropolis under the Patriarchate of Alexandria, is the present metropolitan of Thyateira and Great Britain. He is a prolific writer of theology and history, having also served as editor of and frequent contributor

to the journals *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* (Alexandria, Addis Ababa, Athens, 1952-1979), and *Aba Salama* (Addis Ababa, 1970-1979).

The present volume, which appeared in the final year of the author's hierarchical tenure in Ethiopia, is a product of long academic research and is a tribute to the land he served well. A second volume is also planned which will cover the history of Nubia and Meroe.

Metropolitan Methodios tries, after a careful study of the sources and secondary literature, to shed light on the relationship between Greeks and their culture and Ethiopia. Two of his conclusions are: 1) the 'Nine Saints,' who played a leading role in the organization of the Church of Ethiopia in Axum, were not Monophysites expelled by the Byzantines but Orthodox Christians; and 2) the close connection of the Ethiopian Church with the Coptic was made much later than had been believed. He dates it only from the fourteenth century.

ΠΙΖΑΠΕΙΟΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΗ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ. Volume 1. Ed. by Andreas Phytrakes. Athens: 1978. Pp. 367. 14 illustrations.

Andreas Phytrakes, Emeritus Professor of the School of Theology of the University of Athens, a graduate of Rizareios, and a member of the Board of Trustees of Rizareios Ecclesiastical School, introduces the present volume on theological education at Rizareios. Founded in 1844 by Manthos and George Rizares, the school has produced thousands of graduates, many of whom have distinguished themselves as clergymen and as professors of university and seminary rank.

The volume includes studies by many eminent Greek Orthodox theologians: Nicholas Louvares, Markos Siotes ("Jacques-Paul Migne, Editor of the Greek and Latin Patrologies"), Andreas Theodorou, Megas Pharantos ("Papal Primacy and the Orthodox Church"), Gerasimos Konidares ("History of the Rizareios Ecclesiastical School"), Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, and many others.

Η ΘΕΣΙΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΩ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ. By Ioannes Karmires. Athens: 1978. Pp. 71. Paper.

The author, a member of the Academy of Athens and Emeritus Professor of Theology of the University of Athens, has written what appears to be a sequel to his study, *The Laity in the Orthodox Church* (Athens, 1973). Here, however, he focuses on the question of the ordination of women to the priesthood which he rejects based on arguments drawn from Scripture, Traditions, and the life and history of the Orthodox Church.

Moreover, Professor Karmires believes that the whole question of the ordination of women is not a live issue among the Orthodox.

ΚΛΕΙΣ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΩΝ ΚΑΝΟΝΙΚΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΕΩΝ. By Metropolitan Panteleimon of Korinth (Karanikolas). Athens: Aster, 1979. Pp. 12, 381.

Metropolitan Panteleimon, an authority on canon law, is well known in theological circles from his previous publications and, especially, for his *A Key to the Sacred Canons of the Eastern Orthodox Church* (Athens, 1970).

The present volume under review includes: 1) a letter of Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios; 2) Prolegomena; 3) Sources; and 4) a key to Orthodox Canonical Decrees.

The author also proposes the republication of the *Patriarchal Acts and Documents*, edited by Kallinikos Delikanes (3 vols. Constantinople, 1902-05), and the Patriarchal documents published by Dionysios Zakythinios in *Hellenika* 2 (1929), 6 (1933). He personally hopes to publish a volume entitled, *A Key to the Acts of the Holy Ecumenical and Local Synods*. We wish him every success in this very valuable endeavor.

Living Tradition, Orthodox Witness in the Contemporary World. By John Meyendorff. New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1978. Pp. 202. Paper.

Father John Meyendorff of St. Vladimir's Seminary, one of the better-known Orthodox theologians, has collected eleven of his studies and lectures for this volume. These include: 1) The Meaning of Tradition; 2) Historical Relativism and Authority in Christian Dogma; 3) What Is an Ecumenical Council? 4) Rome and Orthodoxy: Is 'Authority' Still the Issue? 5) The Catholicity of the Church; 6) Contemporary Problems of Orthodox Canon Law; 7) Confessing Christ Today; 8) The Unity of the Church and the Unity of Mankind; 9) Orthodoxy, Church and Mission: Past and Present Perspectives; 10) Orthodox Theology Today; and 11) The Christian Gospel and Social Responsibility: The Orthodox Tradition in History.

This collection presents a rich theological fare in a very convenient format and should be read widely because of its merit.

Vasil T. Istavridis

ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΙΚΟΙ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΑΠ' ΑΡΧΗΣ ΜΕΧΡΙ ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ. ΑΝΑΤΤΠΩΣΙΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΥ ΦΑΡΟΥ Τ.ΝΣΤ. 'ΚΑΙ ΝΖ' (1974 ΚΑΙ 1975). By Vasileios Ateses, formerly Metropolitan of Lemnos. Athens, 1975. Pp. 338. Paper.

ΒΡΑΧΕΑ ΤΙΝΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΙ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΣΗΜΕΙΩΣΕΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΙΚΟΥΣ ΑΤΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΥΣ. By Vasileios Ateses, former Metropolitan of Lemnos. Athens, 1978. Reprinted from *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 60 (1978), 43-90.

ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΤΙΝΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ 1453 ΜΕΧΡΙ ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ. By Vasileios G. Ateses, former Metropolitan of Lemnos. Kalamata: Metropolis of Messenia, 1978. Pp. 83. Paper.

The Most Reverend Vasileios Ateses, formerly the Metropolitan of Lemnos, is one of the most venerable and erudite hierarchs of the Orthodox Church of Greece. He is, at the same time, the premier historian of the church of Greece, having produced over 190 studies. They have appeared in such journals as: *Ekklesia*, where his first study, "Documents of the Archeological Museum of Skyros," was published in 1939, *Epeteris Hetaireias Vyzantinos Spoudon*, *Theologia*, *Archeion 'Ekklesiastikou kai Kanonikou Dikaiou*, *Enoria*, *Gregorios Palamas*, *Archeion Euvoikon Meleton*, *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*, *Archeion Pontou*, and many others.

In addition, he has contributed scores of articles to various newspapers and major entries in the *Threskeutike kai Ethike Egkyklopaideia*. Metropolitan Vasileios has written on such subjects as "Education in Skyros during the Post-Revolutionary Years," "A Contribution to the History of the Holy Mountain," "Sunday Sermons," "A Program of Education for the Clergy," "The Pastor in Society," "The Institution of Episcopal Committees in the Autocephalous Church in Greece," "The Martyred Hierarchs of the Church of Greece," "Patriarchs of Constantinople (Who Were) Members of the Holy Monastery of Saint John the Theologian of Patmos," and biographical studies on various ecclesiastical personalities of the Greek Orthodox Church.

His major studies include: *An Abridged Episcopal History of the Church of Greece from 1833 to the Present*, 3 vols. (1948, 1953, 1969); *The Holy Metropolis of Lemnos Throughout the Ages* (1958); *The Episcopal Lists of the Provinces of the Greek Church, 1833-1960* (1960); *A History of the Church of Skyros* (1961); and *The Hierarchy of the Church of Greece from 1821 to the Present* (1973).

At an age when most men have given up scholarly work and have retired, Metropolitan Vasileios continues to make valuable contributions in the field of ecclesiastical history. (If he is not better known among scholars, this is due to the fact that he has written exclusively in Modern Greek).

Among his latest studies are the three works under review. The first is a study of the sixty-nine metropoleis of the church of Greece which first appeared in the journal *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*, 56 (1974), 105-08, 417-96; 57 (1975), 111-73, 447-550, and was subsequently published as a single volume (Athens, 1975).

Unwilling to rest there, however, Metropolitan Vasileios has carefully followed subsequent research in the field and has produced the second work under review, a sixty-eight page study as a supplement to the first. In it he makes valuable comments on the hierarchs and episcopal lists of thirty-nine metropoleis of the Orthodox Church in Greece covering the period from their beginning to the present. The third study focuses attention on twenty-six me-

tropoleis of the Orthodox Church in Greece beginning with the fall of Constantinople to the present.

Metropolitan Vasileios' treatment of 113 episcopal lists goes beyond mere enumeration. Whenever possible, he adds interesting and pertinent biographical information. His bibliography of printed sources and secondary works is very extensive. Over all he has put all scholars working in this area of church history in his debt, for his above three works constitute a veritable encyclopaedia of the hierarchs of the Orthodox Church in Greece.

Errors that appear in the lists, primarily chronological and almost impossible to avoid in such work because of contradictory sources, are due to his reliance on older authorities, who themselves were misled by those who initially compiled the lists without carefully collating the information derived from the documents. As has been stated before, the compilation of accurate episcopal lists not only requires team effort, but the work must virtually be begun anew (in many areas at least) based solely on personal examination of both published and unpublished documents.

If I am able to make some contribution in this field, it is due to the fact that I have examined some codexes, primarily of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which are helpful in correcting some of the episcopal lists.

It would, however, be impossible for me to comment on all the metropoleis and hierarchs treated by Metropolitan Vasileios. This I plan to do in passing when I complete my study of *Codex Alpha* of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Here I shall restrict myself to a few sees found in the third study under review, since it is the latest and incorporates much of the research of the first two. An exception to this is the metropolis of Chios which appears only in the first two studies. I shall therefore, begin with Chios and then go on to review only the sees of Argolis (Nauplion & Argos) and Drama.

CHIOS

"Neophytos II, 1617."¹

In June 1617, Neophytos witnessed a synodal decision elevating the eparchy of Zetounion & Pteleon to the rank of Archdiocese.² In November 1617, Bishop Hieremias of Polyanes' election as bishop of Kitrous was invalidated by the Holy Synod. I suspect that the anonymous metropolitan of Chios present was Neophytos.³

"Ignatios, I, 1617-1631, resigned."⁴

In his later work, Metropolitan Vasileios believes, based upon C. Solomnides' *He Ekklesia tes Smyrnes* (Athens, 1960), p. 166, that a Gabriel became metropolitan of Chios in 1622 and remained in office until 1630 when he was elected metropolitan of Smyrna.⁵ However, in *Codex Beta*, Ignatios appears from 4 November 1620 to 1 July 1624 as follows:

On 4 November 1620, Ignatios participated in the election of Patriarch Kyrillos I;⁶ on 30 November 1620, he took part in the election of Patriarch Gerasimos of Alexandria;⁷ in May 1622, he participated in the deposition of Anthimos of Korinth;⁸ in the same month and year, he helped elect the *ephemeros* of the Great Church Neophytos metropolitan of Korinth.⁹ In June 1622, Ignatios participated in the election of Ioasaph of Euripos;¹⁰ while in July 1624, he signed the synodal *tomos* which dealt with the indebtedness of the Patriarchate of Constantinople¹¹ and acted in conjunction with others to depose Neophytos of Korinth.¹²

Moreover, Ignatios helped elect Parthenios of Adrianople Patriarch of Constantinople on 1 July 1639. But on this date he was the former metropolitan of Chios.¹³ In *Codex Alpha*¹⁴ of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Ignatios appears in twenty-two documents dating from 3 September 1620 to January 1638, although in the last four documents (dated 4 October 1634-January 1638) he appears as the former incumbant of Chios.¹⁵

Ignatios' appearances are as follows: In December 1620, at the exoneration of Anthimos of Korinth;¹⁶ on 25 February 1622, at the restoration of the *stavropegion* rank of the villages of Pyrgion and Volessos on the island of Chios;¹⁷ in March 1622, he signed the synodal *sigillion* restoring the dioceses of Methone and Korone to the metropolis of Old Patras;¹⁸ in August 1622, he witnessed the appointment of archon Michael Kavvakos as exarch of the *stavropegion* villages of Chios;¹⁹ on 19 June 1623, at the election of Parthenios of Anchialos as metropolitan of Adrianople.²⁰

On 25 June 1623, Ignatios took part in the deposition of Gregorios of Amasia;²¹ in July 1623, he signed the confirmation of the union of the sees of Philippi and Drama;²² in August 1623, he signed the union of Media with Sozopolis;²³ in the same month, he signed the election of Theodosios of Media & Sozopolis;²⁴ in September of the same year, Ignatios signed the confirmation of the union of the monasteries of Evangelismos of Sosimos in the village of Bogdoriane with the monastery of Theotokos;²⁵ in May of the next year, he signed the confirmation of the *stavropegion* status of the monastery of the Panagia Theotokos of the Philosopher in the diocese of Lakedaimonia;²⁶ while in June 1624, he signed a copy of the original typikon of the same monastery.²⁷

In July 1624, Ignatios signed the election of Nathanael of Leukas;²⁸ on 15 July 1631, he signed the election of Laurentios of Didymoteichon;²⁹ in July 1637, he signed the election of Parthenios of Ioannina;³⁰ in October 1633, he signed the election of Euthymios of Phanarion & Neochorion;³¹ on 4 October 1634, Ignatios signed the election of his successor, Matthaios the protosynkelos of Chios. In the same document Ignatios is cited as having resigned.³²

In view of the above attestations, I believe Gabriel of Chios must be rejected and Ignatios' tenure fixed from at least as early as 4 November 1620 to 4 October 1634.

"Matthaïos 1634."³³

As noted above, Matthaïos was elected on 4 October 1634. He is also cited in *Codex Alpha* twice more: on 22 November 1634, when he signed the election of Klemes of Thebes;³⁴ in the same year he signed the deposition of the priest Emmanuel Ventzilia of Skyros;³⁵ and on 27 January 1636, when he signed the election of Kallinikos of Polyane as metropolitan of Thessalonike.³⁶

Matthaïos' tenure therefore, should be extended at least until 27 January 1636.

"Kyrillos I Amygdalos 1634-1639, deposed."³⁷

As noted above, Matthaïos remained in office as late as 27 January 1636. When exactly he was succeeded by Kyrillos is not known.

Kyrillos' earliest attestation is 1/5 March 1636 when he signed the deposition of Ioasaph of Domenikon & Elasson.³⁸ On 16 March 1636, Kyrillos signed a synodical decision calling for an investigation into the finances of the metropolis of Chios;³⁹ on 21 February 1638, he witnessed the resignation of Sophronios of Athens;⁴⁰ on 11 July 1639, he is cited in a complaint made by Loukas Skaramagkas accusing Kyrillos of forgery.⁴¹

Sometime between 1 July and 31 August 1639, he was a signatory to the order invalidating the transfer of the former metropolitan of Korinth Kyrillos to the metropolis of Philippoupolis.⁴² Finally, in November 1639, Protosynkelos Parthenios was elected metropolitan of Chios, while Kyrillos is cited as having been deposed.⁴³

Kyrillos also appears four more times in *Codex Alpha* as the former metropolitan of Chios: in December 1639 (election of Parthenios of Varna);⁴⁴ in January 1640 (election of Gerasimos of Philippi & Drama);⁴⁵ on 17/30 June 1640 (election of Porphyrios of Nikaia);⁴⁶ on 24 June 1640 he witnessed promissory note of Neophytos of Monemvasia.⁴⁷

ARGOLIS (NAUPLION & ARGOS)

"Parthenios, formerly of New Patras, 1604-1606, deposed."⁴⁹

According to Konstantinos Sathas,⁴⁹ Parthenios was elected on 12 February 1604. He served until May 1607, when his successor Sophronios was elected and he was deposed.⁵⁰

"Sophronios 1606-1622, resigned."⁵¹

Sophronios was elected in May 1607⁵² and served until February 1623, when he resigned because of old age.⁵³

C. Patrinoles⁵⁴ and G. Konidares,⁵⁵ relying on Sathas, who missed the year,⁵⁶ end Sophronios' tenure in 1624.

"Theophanes I, 1622-1624, deposed."⁵⁷

Theophanes was elected on 29 April 1624.²⁴ Ateses believes there were

three hierarchs named Theophanes between the years 1622 and 1665, with a Nikodemos in 1628, a Dionysios from 1636-1654, and a Makarios from 1654-1655.⁵⁹ Konidares⁶⁰ and Patrinoles⁶¹ list only two during this same period.

Sathas, on the other hand, records Theophanes' deposition, exoneration, and second deposition,⁶² without indication whether or not it is the same person.

I believe we are dealing with only one Theophanes whom I find in May 1630, when he witnessed the announcement of the deposition of Silvestros of Ephesos and Isaak of Chalcedon;⁶³ in April 1640, when he witnessed the confirmation of the *stavropegion* rank of the monastery of Zoodochos Pege on the island of Andros;⁶⁴ in June 1640, when he participated in the election of Porphyrios of Nikaia;⁶⁵ and in May 1658, when he witnessed the granting of *stavropegion* rank to the monastery of Saint John the Evangelist (Pelekites) near Triglia in the see of Prousa.⁶⁶

It would appear then that Theophanes probably served as follows: elected, 29 April 1624- 1/7 October 1654, deposed; exonerated, 1655; returned, ca. 1658 - November 1665, deposed. He was interrupted by Makarios, elected on 7 October 1654⁶⁷ who probably served until sometime in 1655.

DRAMA

"Athanasios III, Lampardes 1593."⁶⁸

Athanasios' tenure can be extended to March 1606, when he signed the deposition of Ioasaph of Serres.⁶⁹

"Neophytos I 1616."⁷⁰

Neophytos can be attested as early as April 1611, when he signed the patriarchal letter excommunicating two brothers in the metropolis of Paronaxia for fraud;⁷¹ in May 1611, when he signed the confirmation of the deposition of Akakios of Litza & Agrapha.⁷² Since Neophytos was elected metropolitan of Nikomedia ca. July 1617,⁷³ we can be certain that he also witnessed the patriarchal ruling issued in ca. October 1612 against the monks of the monastery of the Savior, called Loukous, in the metropolis of Nauplion for interfering in the sale of some land;⁷⁴ and the letter of Patriarch Timotheos II, issued in May 1616, concerning the excommunication of Michael Karikes and his household because of fraud,⁷⁵ although in the last three documents, his presence was attested by the Grand Rhetor Michael and he did not personally sign.

NOTES

1. Vasileios G. Ateses, *Episkopikoi katalogoi tes ekklesias tes Hellados ap' arches mechri semeron* (Athens, 1975, p. 302).

2. See Nomikos M. Vapori, *Codex Beta of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople* (Brookline, Massachusetts, 1975), pp. 37-38, 40.

3 Ibid, p 41

4 Ateses, *Episkopikoi katalogoi* p 302

5 Ateses, *Vrachea tina peri archiereon tes en Helladi ekklesias kai episemeioseis eis episkopikous autes katalogous* (Athens, 1978), p 88

6 Ibid, pp 56, 59

7 Ibid, p 60

8 Ibid, p 73

9 Ibid, p 74

10 Ibid, p 76

11 Ibid, pp 77-78

12 Ibid, p 80

13 Ibid, pp 107-08

14 *Kodix Hypomnematon kai sigillion 1539 1684 A 'Paulaios Arithimos 333*
Patriarchal Archives Patriarchate of Constantinople

15 That is, at the election of Klemes of Thebes (22 November 1637), p 276, at the election of Meletios of Rhodes (14 August 1637), p 317, at the elections of Ioakeim of Kos (January 1638), p 327

16 Ibid, pp 102-03

17 Ibid, pp 106-07

18 Ibid, pp 162-63

19 Ibid, pp 108-09

20 Ibid, p 128

21 Ibid, pp 122-23

22 Ibid, pp 125-26

23 Ibid, p 137

24 Ibid, p 130

25 Ibid, p 165

26 Ibid, pp 160-161

27 Ibid, p 158

28 Ibid, p 139

29 Ibid, p 227

30 Ibid, p 233

31 Ibid, p 241

32 Ibid, p 273

33 Ateses, *Episkopikoi katalogoi*, p 303

34 Ibid, p 276

35 Ibid, pp 271-72

36 Ibid, p See Apostolos Glavinas *Metropolitai Thessalonike taka ton iz aiona* (Thessalonike 1977), p 102

37 Ateses, *Episkopikoi katalogoi*, p 303

38 *Codex Beta*, pp 97-98, 99

39 *Codex Alpha*, p 287

40 Ibid, p 325

41 Ibid, p 355

42 Ibid, p 300

43 Ibid, p 367

44 Ibid, p 371

45. *Ibid.*, p. 377.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 385.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
48. *Archiereis*, p. 14
49. Sathas, p. 552.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 554-55.
51. *Archiereis*, p. 14.
52. Sathas, p. 555.
53. See his resignation document in *Codex Alpha*, p. 152.
54. *Threskeutike kai Ethike Egkyklopaidia* [=T.E.E.], 2, p. 57.
55. *Threskeutike kai Christianike Egkyklopaidia* [=T.C.E.], 2, p. 247.
56. Sathas, p. 564.
57. *Archiereis*, p. 14.
58. See election document in *Codex Alpha*, p. 152; Sathas, p. 564.
59. *Archiereis*, p. 14.
60. *T.C.E.*, 2, p. 247.
61. *T.E.E.*, 3, p. 57.
62. See election (29 April 1624) Sathas, p. 564; deposition (1/7 October 1654), *ibid.*, p. 590; exoneration (November 1655), *ibid.*, p. 592; and second deposition (November 1665), *ibid.*, p. 597.
63. *Codex Alpha*, pp. 262-63.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 380-81.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 385.
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 415-16.
67. Sathas, p. 590.
68. *Archiereis*, p. 14.
69. See *Codex Alpha*, p. 23; Sathas, p. 554.
70. *Archeireis*, p. 26.
71. See p. 45.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
73. See Sathas, p. 561.
74. *Codex Alpha*, p. 63.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

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**The
Greek
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Review**

Twenty-fifth Year



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Filioque und Verbot eines anderen Glaubens auf den Florentinum: Zum Pluralismus in dogmatischen Formeln. By Hans-Jürgen Marx. Veröffentlichten des Missionspriesterseminars St. Augustin bei Bonn, Nr. 26. Steyler Verlag, 1977. Pp. 413.

The Council of Ferrara-Florence of 1438-39 remains a landmark in the history of Orthodox-Roman Catholic relations; those who have read and enjoyed Joseph Gill's excellent and authoritative work on that Council (*The Council of Florence*, Cambridge, 1959) will find much to interest and inform them in Dr. Marx' study of certain aspects of the famous conclave.

This book is the result of doctoral studies at the Gregorian University in Rome; it was not undertaken with an eye to ongoing discussions between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches now in progress, although the author is aware of the importance of his investigations for that area of activity. He is concerned with the different understanding of a common faith evidenced by the participants in the conciliar discussions. He recognizes as the core of the discussions the question of the 'filioque' clause in the Western form of the Creed, and the "prohibition of another faith" as expressed by the Council of Ephesos in 431.

The differences revealed are differences in the understanding of Trinitarian theology, all affected by the patristic traditions of East and West, and by the meaning of words in the Greek and Latin languages. The Churches existed in amity for centuries, in the consciousness of holding the same faith, yet with different credal expression. There is a long tradition of pluralism in theological expression.

The author undertakes a systematic exploration of his subject under a multitude of headings, e.g., the sources; the contradictory points of departure and subsequent development in the study of the 'filioque' as Trinitarian doctrine, the teachings of the Eastern and Western fathers; the question of the 'filioque' as the central problem of the Florentine discussions; what the Ephesine "prohibition of another faith" was understood to mean with regard to any changes in the Creed, the symbol of the faith; the actual existence of different creeds, and how they were understood; and finally, the way in which the formula of union was arrived.

Dr. Marx does not pretend to have exhausted all the possibilities for study of various aspects of the Council of Florence, but he has illumined a fair number of them, and pointed out a number of further paths of investigation for those inclined to pursue them. His own work is carefully done, with meticulous attention to detail; the same can be said of the publication, a very careful job of typesetting and printing, as well as editing. Errors are few and not particularly glaring, e.g., one single letter in a Greek word in note 174 on page 298: *kadolou* for *katholou*. We could wish that all American books were as well done as this one.

Stephen H.R. Upson

Severos of Antioch was not a Syrian." Therefore, he concludes, "it was not Hellenism but Chalcedon, especially the *Tome* of St. Leo, and the condemnation of Dioscoros and Severos which prevented the leaders of Chalcedon's opponents from entering into communion with the Byzantine Church." "Consequently," he adds, "their restoration will inevitably remove the obstacles to the recognition by the Oriental Churches of the four later Ecumenical Councils—if not at first as Ecumenical, then at least as Orthodox. This will be the first step in permitting restoration of Communion between the Churches involved."

Contrary to Professor Meyendorff, Archbishop Fouyas considers the Western contribution to the solution of the christological problem at Chalcedon as rather insignificant and its "catholic" language as inadequate and incomplete. I think Dr. Fouyas is right in stating that the Orientals reject the Chalcedonian definition (terminology), although they agree with its doctrine, and that the main cause of the division was Dioscoros' disagreement with the Formulary of reunion of 433. Hence, a serious reconsideration and objective reevaluation of the "monophysite" christology, especially that of Severos of Antioch and other leading monophysite theologians, ancient and modern, is imperative.

A long list of books, articles, studies and papers read at the recent conferences, and a general index of names and technical terms conclude this extremely important work. Archbishop Fouyas' *The Person of Jesus Christ in the Decisions of the Ecumenical Councils* is a book that deserves the serious attention of all students of Christian theology, Eastern and Oriental Orthodox-Catholic relations, and of the ecumenical movement.

Constantine N. Tsirpanlis
U.T.S.

Gračanica: King Milutin's Church and Its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture. By Slobodan Ćurčić. University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1979. Pp. 159. 127 plates.

Among the best characteristics of this book is its broad historical focus, and its absolutely clear and expressive format. Ćurčić has in fact created a beautiful book, one versatile enough to provide an introduction to Late Byzantine architecture in addition to remaining a definitive work on an important church.

The book is organized into five chapters. Chapter one deals with the cultural and political conditions in Serbia under King Milutin (1282-1321), chapter two with the history of Milutin's Gračanica, chapter three with its architecture, chapter four with its relationship to Late Byzantine architecture generally, and chapter five with the date of the church's construction and with the problem of its intended use as Milutin's mausoleum. The numerous

plates consist of superb photographs, architectural plans and sections, and isometric drawings. They provide ample illustration for the text. The church's frescoes are not studied in any detail, except insofar as they relate to what Ćurčić views as one part of an integrated architectural system.

The author's chief conclusions are as follows. Gračanica was a product of the meteoric rise of Serbia under King Milutin, whose reign transformed Serbia from a backwater to a major political and economic power. Moreover, Milutin's conquest of much of Byzantine Macedonia, and his marriage to the daughter of Andronikos II, resulted in the intense cultural byzantinization of Serbia. Perhaps the most salient result of this byzantinization was Gračanica, a church which expressed Milutin's break with traditional Serbian culture. Milutin's later decision to make his mausoleum not Gračanica, but the church of St. Stefan at Banjska Monastery, was thus a victory for the conservative forces in Serbia, particularly the Church. The architectural relationship of Gračanica to Late Byzantine churches in Thessalonica and elsewhere is demonstrated. Milutin's builders, hardly provincials of a "local school," or even representatives of "Serbian national genius," as previous scholarship has allowed, were imported from Greece and at Gračanica created a church which surpassed in its symmetry and composition all other contemporary five-domed churches. Gračanica remained a characteristically five-domed church, but one which provided the best solution to architectural problems inherent in this type of structure. As such it becomes not just one of the finest achievements of Serbian architecture, but one of the most important examples of Late Byzantine architecture generally.

Gračanica's history and architecture are very complex, and as such one might have expected a book less ambitious in its scope and purpose, also one abstruse in its presentation and written for the specialist. Instead, we are provided with one of the most important books on any Byzantine church, a book which any intelligent reader can appreciate, a book which exemplifies the best kind of scholarly understanding and expression.

John Rosser
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credible when we learn of Dositheos' weaknesses as well. It is here that the author reveals the personal rivalries and ambitions in which Dositheos was involved when engaged in disputes related to doctrinal, canonical, and administrative matters. Nevertheless, as objectively pointed out by the author, this in no way detracts from the man's greatness, neither does it make his achievement less great. As a final appreciation of his contributions, the author stresses that not only does Dositheos belong to the Orthodox Church as a whole and to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, but also to the political history of the Rumanian people. Such, in fact, was his impact upon the latter as to cause the author to state that no history of the Rumanian people during his tenure as patriarch would be complete without the mention of his name.

The entire historical study, which makes interesting reading, is followed by a lengthy summary, three unpublished letters of Dositheos and Ioannes Karyophylles, a patriarchal official, and an impressive bibliography.

Due to the historical importance of the material related to Ottoman domination and Western proselytism, as well as to the means of combating both, the present study affords a valuable resource for those involved in Christian-Islamic and East-West relations. This reviewer's only regret is that the summary did not appear in another language besides Greek for the benefit of a broader reading public.

Especially helpful is the extensive, descriptive bibliography of works published by Dositheos in Rumania and included in the final chapter.

Lewis J. Patsavos
*Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School
of Theology*

The Human Presence: An Orthodox View of Nature. By Paulos Gregorios. Geneva: The World Council of Churches, 1978.

This book, written by the metropolitan of Delhi, India, is an outgrowth of World Council of Churches' efforts in the area of concern of the WCC's Working Committee on Church and Society, and a contribution to the WCC's Conference on Faith, Science, and the Future, held in July at Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The book is rooted in the problems arising from the crisis which world society faces in our time: poverty, the desparity of the developed and under-

developed societies, the paradox of a scientific and technological advance which produces destructive consequences (both human and ecological), population growth, the exploitation of non-renewable resources, economic disillusionment, and the crisis of confidence in the scientific-technological foundations of our western culture and society.

Metropolitan Gregorios surveys the scene and provides a response from the perspective of Eastern Orthodox Christianity, not as a "ready recipe," with simplistic naivete, but as a vision of reality and as a broad contribution to a general confrontation of the crisis of our age. He has made a very useful effort. Chapter one serves to pose the problem.

In chapter two he addresses the serious question of the "nature of nature." He focuses on the bifurcation of nature and humanity which underlies the scientific-technological perspective. Here, nature is objectified, separated from human existence and perceived as something to be exploited, managed, and manipulated for private gain. Treatments of nature in the Bible (nature as 'constitutive'), Indo-Hellenic thought (the non-human part of the universe), and the Church Fathers (that which truly is the constitutive and identifiable quality of each separate type of being). This latter view leads to a discussion of God as "He who truly is" and nature as that which depends for its existence on God, so that neither is it possible to desacralize nature on the one hand, nor to divinize it on the other.

This perspective is followed by treatments of nature and science (chapter three) and process theology's contribution (chapter four) where the medieval view of Western Christendom is examined by surveying some alternative views to the issue, most of which Bishop Gregorios finds both interesting, yet inadequate. The heart of the book is the exposition of the thought of Gregory of Nyssa (chapter five), Dionysios the Areopagite, and Maximos the Confessor with some reference to Vladimir Solovyev (chapter six). It is not possible to enter into a detailed review of these Eastern Christian perspectives here. It must suffice to direct the reader to the most useful interpretations of Gregory of Nyssa and Maximos the Confessor and to note only the thrust of their teaching. It is the familiar paradox of discontinuity between God as the source of created nature (transcendence) and the view that nature, including man as its highest expression, participates in the Divine (immanence). There is a unity of all creation which finds human existence as its link-pin. Man shares in the uncreated divine reality and in the created reality of nature. Humanity holds a mediating position between them while sharing in both. It is human freedom which makes this possible, a freedom which Gregory and Maximos affirm can only find its fulfillment in so far as humanity participates in Christ and reflects the life of God in the *pleroma* of the people of God, the Church. The ethical implications of this view are sharply articulated in the section on the meaning of "Dominion over the Creation:"

When man wears the purple of virtue and the crown of justice, he becomes a living image of the King of Kings, of God himself. If all human activities and abilities, including the development of science and technology, were subordinated to and integrated with the quest for justice,

freedom, peace and creative goodness, the human rule over the creation could mean a blessing for the whole universe (pp. 70, 71).

In chapter seven, the author makes an appeal transcending the alternatives of 'objective' knowledge of nature which alienates us from it and its abuse through technological exploitation. He appeals to the need to recover the "faculty of addressing reality as a whole," and "of responding to it with reverence and receptivity." We need "the capacity to respond with our whole being to the being of the wholly Other who presents himself to us through the created universe." Here is an important Orthodox witness on the revelatory reality vision which, in its reverence for God's nature and nature's God, opens vistas to a humane, sensitive, and responsible assumption of a spiritually oriented approach to nature.

The book concludes with two chapters of importance since both reach out, in a non-dogmatic fashion, to the problem of addressing images of the future (chapter eight) and to a "New style of Christian Ethical Reflection" (chapter nine). In both there is a refreshing openness and vitality inviting new, holistic, and truly Christian visions of a future inspired by the vision of a "just, participatory, and sustainable society." This reviewer was particularly pleased with the understanding of ethics which eschews an exclusively contextual and pragmatic ethic and affirms the need for an ethic which is based on "reality as a whole." The author writes: it "seems impossible for some of us in the Eastern tradition to ignore ontology and metaphysics, and simply to accept a principle or norm by, what appears to us, an arbitrary choice."

Metropolitan Paulos has sketched out the Eastern Orthodox perspective on the nature of nature in the large and bold strokes needed at this time. He has delineated for us the holistic, participatory God-centered vision so desperately needed in a time of crisis. It would be possible to complain that the concept of nature needs to be further delineated, especially where it is used by Fathers of the Church in the application to ethical decision-making in concrete ethical questions, i.e., what is meant by appeals to nature regarding sexual ethics? In what sense are certain acts *para physin*? What does it mean to speak of acts as *kata physin*? In what sense are other acts *hyper physin*? What are the status of such acts in the life of theosis? What criteria, principles, and norms on the 'middle axiom' level help us conform to God's nature and nature's God, and what methodologies are to be employed to identify them? But to press these questions would be ungracious. Metropolitan Gregorios has broadly traced the terrain with a genuine Orthodox response to a pressing human question. It is a book to be read with openness and appreciation for the vision presented. It is, as well, a book which challenges the reader to further study, more detailed research in the Fathers, and vigorous application to the pressing and demanding issues of our day.

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THE PHENOMENON OF SECULARIZATION

The term secularization is used in the sociology of religion very widely and with various meanings.¹ It may be considered that the primary form of secularization is the process of distinguishing the world from God, or ceasing to ascribe transcendence to the world and worldly things. This procedure was already favored by the religion of ancient Israel.² It is well-known that the Old Testament heavily emphasizes the distinction between the world and God. The world is, of course, recognized as God's work, and cannot be understood without Him. Besides, God is made manifest and acts in the world. But at the same time emphasis is placed on the secular nature of the world, that is to say, its created character, which radically distinguishes it from God.

Like the religion of Israel, early Christianity also makes a clear distinction between the created and the uncreated, or the world and God, and at the same time accepts that the world was created by God and provides the sphere within which His energies are manifested. In addition, however, Christianity, which presupposes belief in the Incarnation of God, also accepts the real communion of the created with the uncreated, or of the world with God in Christ. So besides the secularization of the world, in Christianity we also have the immanence of God. This immanence of God is established by the Incarnation and preserved in the Divine Eucharist. In this way the divisive distinction between the holy and the secular, often taken as a starting point in the sociology of religion, is overcome.

The immanence of God in the context of Christianity cannot be seen as a return to the situation which existed before the secularization of the world, because it represents a new stage, presupposing or even extending this secularization. And indeed, far from interfering with the process of secularization of the world and the things of the world, Christianity actually increases its scope. Thus through Christian teaching a new way of looking at the world takes shape, and the "things of God" are differentiated from the "things of Caesar."³ This new way of regarding the state and ap-

proaching Caesar is opposed to any attempt to make the state an absolute or its rulers gods, and confines these things to the realm of the secular.

Finally, the ethical teaching of Christianity and more especially of the Sermon on the Mount combats the idolization of any human value, placing everything in its secular dimensions and under the judgment of God.⁴

By introducing a secularized view of the world, these attitudes also determine the new framework for the world within which it has developed under the influence of Christianity. Christianity puts forward, not the movement of man towards God, but the movement of God towards man. What is here put as the foundation of religious belief is not religious feeling, but the revelation of God and the position of man in relation to this revelation.

As soon as man is placed in a relation to the revelation of God, the phenomenon of religion appears. In this case, however, it is characteristic that religion has as its foundation, not the divisive distinction between holy and secular, but a view which synthesizes these categories. Thus, while the secular nature of the world and worldly things is recognized, it is at the same time accepted that they have a relationship with God and the possibility of being transfigured on another level. In this way, Christianity contributes not only to the secularization of the world, but also to the eschatological view of it, culminating in the recognition of the possibility that it may be transfigured by participation in God's grace. More particularly, man, by participating in God's grace, enters into a personal communion and union with Him. However, the union of man with God, like the union of the human and divine natures in the person of Christ, does not produce a confusion between the created and the uncreated, but comes about "without confusion or change."⁵ This is also the basis for the Christian idea of the deification of man, which is radically different from the pre-Christian and non-Christian idea of his becoming a god.

Belief in the transfiguration of the world and the deification of man, far from doing away with their secular nature, actually presupposes it. On the other hand, the transfiguration of the world and the deification of man are not treated as pantheistic visions nor as the fruits of a process accomplished within the world, but as the consequences of participation without confusion in the grace or energy of God. Thus the transcendence of God is preserved and also the historicity of His relations with the world. For this reason,

Christian worship and ethics have been bound up with history from the very beginning.

So as long as belief is preserved in the transfiguration of the world and the deification of man through the mediation of the energies of God, the secularization of the world and the immanence of God can coexist and even develop together. But when this belief disappears, then Christianity simply functions as a factor contributing to secularization. And secularization in this case is not confined to the distinction between the world and the things of the world, but is extended to the rejection of any possibility of communion between the world and God, thus attacking the very basis of Christianity.

The possibility of this communion was formulated in the theological language of early Christianity with the distinction between essence and energy in God, and the recognition of the possibility of the world's participating in the divine energy.⁶ Thus on the one hand, real communion between the world and God could be affirmed, and on the other, any confusion between them could be ruled out. This distinction, present from the beginning in Christian teaching, was especially emphasized after the proclamation of 'homousios' and the stress on the transcendence of the Word of God.

In the East, this distinction remained undoubted and provided the theological basis for the interpretation of religious life and experience. The life of the true Christian entails personal participation in the energy or grace of God; and the experience of this participation is religious experience par excellence. Therefore, the saints, as partakers in the grace of God, provide within history the living indicators and interpreters of His will. This also accounts for the particular interest in saints and ascetics or in studying their lives and careers which has from the beginning characterized the Christian tradition of the East and is the hallmark of its ethical teaching. At the same time, a tendency not unknown in the East is to link religious feeling, somewhat one-sidedly, with the life beyond which has the result of removing it from social reality.

In the West, however, things developed differently. Already by the Middle Ages, when religious belief occupied a position of decisive power in social life, at the theological level the basic conditions for rejecting the possibility of communion between the world and God and for a self-contained view of the world had already been formulated. A contributing factor, certainly, was the

appearance and triumph of the Germanic peoples who created a new state of affairs when they adopted Christianity en masse. These peoples felt strongly the superiority of the Romans. They were impressed by their civilization and their religion, and sought immediately to make them their own. This was why, far from opposing Christianity, a religion totally foreign to them, they received it with particular readiness. They received it with the readiness with which the so-called under-developed peoples today receive the various elements of technical civilization as objective values which they cannot assimilate organically because they do not have the appropriate grounding; so the Germanic peoples of those days received Christianity as an objective value which they could not easily make their own, because they lacked the indispensable religious grounding.

In the context of an objective view of Christianity, it was natural that the distinction between the essence and energy of God found no favor, since this aspired precisely to transcend the objective view of God and make known the possibility of man's union with Him. Besides, this distinction came into conflict with the basic philosophical requirement of the simplicity of God. And indeed, with the appearance of scholasticism the philosophical view of God was established and the distinction between His energy and essence could no longer be maintained. God's energy was identified with His essence, which, again according to the requirements of Aristotelian philosophy, was held to be pure energy (*Actus purus*). Once again, God became unapproachable, and His immanence, founded on the recognition that He became man in Christ, was left aside. Thus the way was opened for a self-sufficient view of the world, and there began to take shape a new way of treating and using the world, one which has prevailed in recent times.

In the East, too, there was an attempt to put forward this theological position by the Calabrian scholar and monk Barlaam, who visited Byzantium about the middle of the fourteenth century, but he met with a vigorous reaction. In the end, the East not only maintained the distinction between the essence and energy of God, but actually underlined it as a special characteristic of its religious life and theology. It is no accident, therefore, that the effort being made today within Orthodoxy to rid it of alienating influences, preserve its identity amidst the more general current of secularization, clearly has its place in the line of religious and theological tradition, and has been cultivated through emphasis on this dis-

inction. The West, by contrast, has entirely gone along with the new position in relation to God. But while Protestantism, more consistent with this principle, has substantially denied any means of communion between man and God (sacraments, miracles, intercessions of saints, etc.), Roman Catholicism, which has continued to recognize these traditional elements, has left them in a position of uncertainty and without support.

This new position of man in relation to God was first manifested during the Renaissance, from which modern technological civilization also traces its origin; but it has gained steadily wider currency within industrial and post-industrial society, where again religious belief has lost its decisive power in social life.

During periods or in areas where religious belief determines the social life of the faithful or even wider social situations, religion has the position of the independent variable.⁷ Characteristic here is that objective manifestations of religious life are constantly being created (dogmas, canons, forms to structure religious life, art, etc.). An example of this in general terms is the medieval period and particularly Byzantium. During periods or in areas where religious life is not in a position to determine the social life of the faithful but is determined by it, religion is in the position of the dependent variable. Here, typically, the Church is powerless to produce objective manifestations binding on social life and confines itself to conventional repetition of forms from the past or to conformity with the facts of social life. This was the position of religious life after the Renaissance.

The new position in relation to God and the world, first manifested during the Renaissance, was connected with very profound social changes. As time went on, agricultural society gave way to industrial and post-industrial society. In place of the relatively self-sufficient patriarchal family, there appeared the small, 'nuclear' family which is absolutely dependent on its social surroundings. Relations between the members of the family were readjusted. Greater significance was given to the couple and to the parity of both parties, while the ideas of authority, power and obedience were pushed aside. The hierarchy of members of the family gave way to emphasis on the freedom and responsibility of each one. Correspondingly, social relations and structures in public life were changed. Public and private life were separated, and religious feeling was restricted to the domain of private life. Finally, the authority of the state was held to spring from the people, and not

from God or any other power. So as these basic elements of social and family life had changed, it was natural that they should affect religious life correspondingly.

Finally, the development of science and technology created new aspects of life which had important anthropological implications and perceptibly influenced men's religious views. Fuller knowledge and interpretation of the world led to a spectacular rejection of the mysterious element in the world and a real change in the way it was regarded. When people were ignorant of the nature of the heavenly bodies, they attributed divine properties to them or believed that they had some influence over their lives and fates. Likewise, when they could not explain various phenomena, they usually connected them with some religious mystery. But the universe had already become an object of empirical research, and the natural sciences explained many areas of the world previously shrouded in mystery. Certainly, this course also presented man with new mysteries, perhaps, indeed, much deeper and more impressive than those it had explained. But beyond these, the magical way of looking at the world and the various ways in which its elements and phenomena were divinized, were rejected as things of the past, at least for people in the parts of the earth considered civilized.

At the same time, new orientations for man were developed. In the structures of contemporary society, there is no longer a quest for a universal truth which would entail man's reference to it totally, as individuals and as whole social groups. Today there are many truths, circulating mainly in the name of science and serving individual and social needs and desires. These truths neither have nor claim absolute, i.e. transcendent validity, but are bounded by the immediacy of the world. Their character is not ontological but functional. The idea that science could one day reveal to man the absolute truth is already a thing of the past. Today science is not seeking ontological truth, but partial truths which help us to explain, use, and handle the world. The usefulness and effectiveness of these truths in everyday life not only excites the lively interest of man in contemporary society, but also literally turns his interest away from the search for ontological truth.

So contemporary society, with the multitude of truths it cultivates and offers, dissipates man's aims and does not favor the search for ontological truth. Equally, it suggests to man the impression that such a truth is, in the last analysis, pointless, since it does not provide for his immediate practical needs. In this way,

the process of secularization is extended to man's consciousness and affects its very structure.⁸ Thus man's instrument of religious reference is altered, and the quest for ontological truth is shifted from the center of his interest. Religion is pushed to one side or confined to the area where science is unable to help man. Thus religion is connected, in the last analysis, with what are called the borderline states of human existence, ultimately summed up in death.

This phenomenon, however, has special importance for the presence and identity of Christianity in contemporary society. As we know, Christianity started off as the religion of the Resurrection, the religion of victory over death. But in the course of its history it also became connected with other, worldly elements, which overshadowed or even altered its original character. For this reason, the secularization described above, by confining religion to the borderline states of human existence and more particularly to death, created suitable conditions for the better clarification or re-gaining of Christian identity.

In the course of the preceding process, however, another form of secularization has also come to the fore, expressed in the movement of the world away from the Church. In proof of this phenomenon, statistical data are produced, e.g. percentages of church-goers, frequency of Communion, etc. But a movement away from church life does not always mean a corresponding diminution or disappearance of religious feeling, because religious feeling may exist and be cultivated independently of the Church or of church institutions. Thus the movement away from the Church need not be necessarily considered a movement away from Christianity or from religion in general. So this secularization is presented chiefly as a problem of the sociology of the Church and not as a more general problem of the sociology of Christianity or of the sociology of religion.⁹ Some, indeed, have claimed that the movement away from traditional church life, far from meaning a decline in religious life, actually reveals that it is being renewed and ridding itself from secondary elements.¹⁰ Besides, the view has been put forward that the religious crisis is only apparent. It is not possible to fix definite limits in order to confirm the existence of a religious crisis or whether it has been overcome. On this question, everything depends on one's point of view. Lastly, if we accept that there really is a religious crisis, that means that there is also religious life, since a religious crisis can only exist where religion

is alive.¹¹

Finally, another form of secularization is that brought about by the divorce of the faithful's everyday lives from the demands of their faith. Such a form of secularization appeared in Christianity mainly after its recognition as the official state religion. Christians became more bound up with the world and felt its influence more strongly. From this time on, the fact that people became and remained Christians was not dictated only by faith in Christ but also by many other selfish ambitions. Thus, for instance, Cyril of Jerusalem, in a catechetical oration given in 351, referring to such private ambitions which pushed some of his hearers to seek Christian baptism, makes the following observation:

It may be that you come in another way; for it may be that a man wishes to beseech a woman, and draws near for that reason; and, vice versa, much the same may apply to women; and often a slave wants to please his master, or a friend his friend. I take the bait on the hook, and receive you who have come for a wrong purpose, but will be saved by good hope.¹²

And indeed, when being a Christian brings with it benefits in social life, then it is natural for indifferent people to want to become Christian, thus contributing to the increase in numbers, but also at the same time to a change in the climate of the society into which they are entering.

This phenomenon occurred from a particular point of view, but also to a much greater extent in the West, with the descent and Christianization of the Germanic peoples. And since these peoples prevailed in the West, the consequences of secularization at that period were, as we have said, broader and deeper. The religious and cultural tradition they adopted was treated in its entirety as a whole treasury of religious belief and 'scientific' knowledge. For this reason, a more acute crisis was created later when science developed, and finally the early religious tradition came to be seen as a preliminary for science, with no reason for its existence.¹³

Generally, it may be noted that secularization in its modern, more general form, which attacks the very basis of Christianity, contributes to a very one-dimensional view of Christianity. This one-dimensional view, realized chiefly in the West and more particularly within Protestantism, remains faithful to the Old Testament line on the basic distinction between the world and God, which leads to the secularization of the world, but essentially

ignores the New Testament line about God's incarnation, which also establishes His immanence. This secularization, with technological civilization as its implement, has also spread to Eastern Christianity. But whereas in the West, secularization appeared as the fruit of an organic development of the secularizing dimension of Christianity, in the East it made its appearance in the form of outside influence, displacing religious feeling or filling the gap left by it when it became divorced from social reality and its relevance was confined to the life after death.

NOTES

1. H. Lübbe, *Säkularisierung. Geschichte eines ideenpolitischen Begriffs* (Freiburg, 1965), p. 21-ff. J. Matthes, *Religion und Gesellschaft, Einführung in die Religionssoziologie I* (Hamburg, 1967), p. 74-ff. A. Hahn, *Religion und der Verlust der Sinngebung* (Frankfurt, 1974), p. 24-ff.

2. See M. Webber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, Vol. 3, "Das antike Judentum," p. 6 ff. P. Berger, *Zur Dialektik von Religion und Gesellschaft*, p. 109ff.

3. Matt. 22, 20-1. Mark 12, 17. Luke 20, 25.

4. See H. Cox, *The Secular City*, pp. 21-23f.

5. For this dogmatic formulation see Mansi 40f, 1.116B.

6. See G. Mantzarides, *Μέδεξιν Θεοῦ* (Thessalonike, 1979), p. 260.

7. P. Berger, *Zur Dialektik von Religion und Gesellschaft*, p. 13.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 103-4.

9. F. Fürstberg, *Religionssoziologie*, p. 23. J. Matthes, "Bemerkungen zur Säkularisierungsthese in der neueren Religionssoziologie," *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, supplement 6 (1962), p. 65ff.

10. See Further E. Wiesner, *Säkularisierung, Pro und Contra* (Innsbruck, 1973), 37ff.

11. T. Rendtorff, *Gesellschaft ohne Religion?* (Munich, 1975), pp. 87-91.

12. Προκατήχησις 5.

13. H. Desroche, *Sociologie de l'espérance* (Paris, 1973), pp. 28-29.

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JOHN S. ROMANIDES

THE THEOLOGIAN IN THE SERVICE OF THE CHURCH IN ECUMENICAL DIALOGUE

It is indeed a great honor to have been invited to be the first speaker in this new annual lectureship in honor of Father Georges Florovsky, the greatest Orthodox theologian of our time, and the academic and spiritual guide and inspiration of most of us here present, both directly and indirectly.

Concerning the theologian, how he is trained and what he is supposed to be doing from the patristic point of view, I have expounded elsewhere in some detail.¹ The spiritual father and the theologian are one identical reality. I assume that my analysis of the subject is known, so that rather than repeat it I chose to expand the topic, "The Theologian in the Service of the Church in Ecumenical Dialogue."

Orthodox theologians represent and are part of a theological and spiritual tradition which is the primary responsibility of the Orthodox synods of bishops. The bishop himself is the preserver and teacher *par excellence* of the tradition who, when circumstances require, may delegate teaching and spiritual responsibilities to presbyters, deacons, monks, and even to laymen. What holds true for theologians and theology within the Church is true for theologians in dialogue with other churches or groups of churches.

It is generally known that since the 1961 New Delhi General Assembly and especially since the 1975 Nairobi General Assembly of the World Council of Churches, the Orthodox have been running into serious problems with the overwhelming Protestant majority. Father Florovsky had first-hand knowledge of the inception of these problems and their purpose, and he was disturbed about the course of possible events appearing on the horizon.

The dialogue with the Latin Catholic Church will begin in seven days. We use the term Latin in order to distinguish it from Greek Catholicism or Uniatism.

Dialogue with the Anglicans will re-commence in July 1980, after an interruption created by the new practice of ordaining women in some Anglican churches.

Preparations for the official Orthodox-Lutheran dialogue are progressing normally and show signs that it may prove to be relatively fruitful.

The Old Catholic-Orthodox dialogue had gone very quickly into high gear, but the original high hopes seem to have waned a bit.

Unofficial dialogue with the Non-Chalcedonians had commenced on a solid footing, but went into a tailspin when the W.C.C. began mixing into the dialogue's internal affairs, having transformed the dialogue into its own project to serve its own purpose.

Papers for the commencement of official dialogue have been in print since 1976.² The last meeting of the Orthodox commission, held in Geneva in February 1979, dealt at length with the problem of how to get the Non-Chalcedonians to the conference table.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate has sponsored to date two meetings between Orthodox and Jews which proved to be very interesting and which had pleasant theological surprises for those previously unfamiliar with each other. It seems that except for the well-known differences between Judaism and Christianity, there is a closer similarity between Orthodoxy and Judaism than between Orthodoxy and those churches stemming from medieval Frankish, Visigoth (Spanish), Lombard, and Norman Europe.

Here we shall deal in order with the Orthodox Churches and their theologians in relation to the W.C.C. and in dialogue with the Non-Chalcedonians, the Latin Catholics and the Anglicans.

The World Council of Churches

It must be emphasized from the very beginning that we should avoid viewing the World Council of Churches from the Orthodox point of view alone. We must be open and sympathetic to Protestant views and needs without, however, sacrificing Orthodox principles. It is inadmissible to judge Protestant actions by Orthodox standards or Orthodox actions by Protestant standards.

The W.C.C. was established and shaped as a result of and in conformity to problems uniquely Protestant. Thus the Orthodox impact on the organizing process of the W.C.C. was so insignificant that one wonders if the Orthodox really knew what they were getting themselves involved in when they joined. Indications are that the Orthodox who signed the Charter which brought the W.C.C. into existence in 1948 believed that they were involved in the establishment of an organization within the spirit and limits of the 1920 encyclical of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople proposing to all Christians the founding of a 'League of Churches' along the lines of the League of Nations. This clearly

means that each church would be a real and direct member with equal rights and absolute control over the appointment of its representatives, exactly like in the case of the member nations of the United Nations where size and population neither add nor increase voting power and where the member nations do not vote for each other's ambassadors and staff.

However, because of Protestant problematics and their need for real solutions, the W.C.C. was organized on totally different lines. Obviously not adequately familiar with the importance of organizational structure, our Orthodox founders led us into areas of inter-confessional Protestant relations where we could not control our participation.

Searching through the files of the Church of Greece, no report could be found on the structural organization of the W.C.C.—indeed strange, to say the least, for a church whose representatives were involved in the founding and the work of the W.C.C. from the very beginning. One of her representatives of long standing is currently serving as elected chairman of Faith and Order.

During the many years of our close association, Father Florovsky of blessed memory very often discussed the W.C.C. If our discussions were any indication, he evidently attributed little importance to the W.C.C.'s organizational structure. He did, however, feel the impact of the W.C.C.'s right to exercise power. He complained of being shifted to the sidelines in favor of Orthodox who more closely fit the requirements of the W.C.C. Father Georges, therefore, continuously complained that the W.C.C. was undergoing a change which he attributed to its institutionalization and its being housed in the then newly-built headquarters in Geneva. That the W.C.C. has changed is still a favorite theme of some professors in Greece.

Until the 1975 Nairobi General Assembly, my participation in W.C.C. projects was limited to the 1963 Montreal World Conference on Faith and Order, where I composed the paragraph on eucharistic ecclesiology, and to the Rochester conference on religious freedom. Having never studied the constitution and bylaws of the W.C.C., I began preparing for Nairobi under the impression that this organization had indeed been undergoing the change which the Orthodox spoke of and liked so little. I studied the constitution and bylaws as part of my preparation and was disturbed at how much Orthodox participation depends legally on the goodwill of the

overwhelming Protestant majority. No democracy can function unless the rights of the minority are protected. This constitution has no built-in rights which protect the Orthodox from a possible dictatorship of the Protestant majority.

I came to the conclusion that the Orthodox who got us involved in the W.C.C. are like the pious farmer who went to the big city and demonstrated his writing ability by signing away the management of a part of his business. Because the manager did not immediately exercise his right to manage, the farmer continued to manage as usual. However, the time came for the manager to begin exercising his legal right. The farmer protested. The manager produced the signed contract.

In other words, the W.C.C. changed only in the sense that the Protestant majority began exercising legal rights which it always had and to which the Orthodox themselves had legally agreed. This is why the Church of Greece is demanding protection of her right to function within the W.C.C. as an Orthodox Church according to the traditions of the Orthodox Church. Because this can be done only by amendment to the constitution, in reality by the addition of a sort of inalienable bill of rights, the Church of Greece has requested that such amendments be made.

The principle behind this action is clearly that what is permissible and good for a divided Protestantism is not necessarily permissible and good for the Orthodox. Protestant participation should be Protestant, and Orthodox participation should be Orthodox.

The synodical committee responsible for advising the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece realized the need to make such a distinction by taking into consideration the historical conditions of Protestantism which clearly point to the fact that the current organizational structure of the W.C.C. is indeed the best possible and the most realistic for Protestantism, at least as far as Orthodox can judge. Let us look at the reasoning.

The structure of the W.C.C. was determined by Protestant problems mainly in the missionary field. Protestantism divided its converts into confessional groups, whereas these same converts had been united religiously as pagans. A "World Missionary Conference" was held in Edinburgh in 1910 to study these and other such problems and ways of overcoming them.

It was further felt by Protestant leaders that one could separate the practical questions of life and work from the more doctrinal questions of faith and order. Thus a world conference on the first

aspect of problems was convened called 'Life and Work' in 1925, followed by a world conference on 'Faith and Order' two years later in 1927 to deal with the second aspect. Thus, one separated the problems of coordinating social and educational efforts from the problems of doctrine and church structure which lay at the basis of the division and confusion in the missionary fields. Second conferences of each of these two divisions of labor were both held in 1937.

There was much talk about how the Holy Spirit was thus guiding Protestantism in the paths of cooperation and unity. However, leaders of Europe and America had already come to the realization that Christianity was a serious force of division, both at home and in the missions, and therefore not as effective in efforts to Westernize and unite the world for peaceful economic and social activities. The position, especially expounded by Arnold Toynbee, had gained dominance, i.e. that westernization of the world will not be completed as originally believed or planned by Christian missions, but by Western technology and economics.

Orthodox civilization, already westernized to a great extent, was included in the designs for Christian unity and its fusion into Western civilization. Westernization was part of Greece's official political and ecclesiastical policy from the very beginning of her modern history.

The Latin Catholics, the original core of Western civilization, would be gently nudged into being inspired by the Holy Spirit also.

Thus the W.C.C. was established in 1948, a few years after the United Nations, and at a time when Arnold Toynbee was expounding his master plan of westernization to a well prepared and therefore ready and very large audience.³

Eventually, however, the Third World experienced a revitalization of political, economic, religious, and cultural awareness which rejected the idea that they should be westernized. This has had a tremendous impact on the United Nations, the W.C.C., and the papacy. Needless to mention is Khomeini's Islamic revolution.

The W.C.C. was organized in such a way that success should both become a reality and become so as rapidly as possible. Thus it took a shape similar to that of a business corporation whose techniques in management, production and marketing could be put to good use. The similarity may be purely or partially accidental, but is striking nonetheless.

The world conferences already mentioned became in two stages

(1948 and 1961) one corporation by merging with some loss of structural identity. In the process, Faith and Order has been given the status of a sub-unit. The same thing happened to World Mission and Evangelism.

The addition of the Orthodox to the W.C.C. was essential from the viewpoint of long-range planning, but perhaps a bit superficial from the Orthodox point of view, especially in regard to missions and life and work. 'Faith and Order' is the only division in which the Orthodox have a real contribution to make.

The historical background, the needs and goals of the W.C.C. required an organizational structure which would transcend and thus avoid direct and possible erratic interference from the churches. This is the reason why neither the League of Nations nor the United Nations could be used as a model. The member churches had to be restricted to the status of shareholders in a corporation in order to make success possible.

The churches are, for all intents and purposes, shareholders in the W.C.C. Shares are allotted according to population, geographic distribution and confessional identity. Shares are held in the form of one voting share per delegate at the General Assembly which is equivalent to the general meeting of shareholders, but held every seventh or eighth year instead of annually.

This General Assembly elects members of the Assembly to the Central Committee which governs the W.C.C. according to the mandates of the General Assembly. The slate of candidates is prepared by a nominations committee which solicits candidates from the churches, which, however, it is not obligated to accept. The Central Committee in turn elects at each of its meetings a smaller Executive Committee which supervises the execution of its policies. In addition, the Central Committee approves the names of the core groups for membership in the divisions of the W.C.C. These core groups are nominated by the division chairmen and staff and approved by the General Secretariate and make up about a third of the membership of the divisions. A second third of the membership of the divisions is elected by the Central Committee from its own members by suggestion of the same people who control the nominations to the core group. The third third of the members of the divisions are co-opted by the officers and staff who ask for the approval of the churches, but are not legally obliged to accept recommendations from the churches.

Once the Central Committee is elected, the churches give up any direct control of their participation in the administration and work of the W.C.C. and are reduced to reacting sometimes in a manner more befitting a minor shareholder of a corporation who has to wait for the next general assembly to get his opinion accepted as a motion duly made, seconded, debated, and voted upon. Nomination committees serve to channel preferred ecumenists into the right places according to the judgment of ideologically dedicated inner-core Protestant leaders.

The Central and Executive Committees are like larger and smaller boards of directors of a corporation with the same moderators and vice-moderators with some members belonging to both. The Central and Executive committees supervise the work of the staff, headed by the General Secretary and Directors or moderators of the three program units and their sub-units and two specialized units. These heads of the staff function like the officers of a corporation.

From the legal point of view, the W.C.C. is a kind of servant holding company whose shares are held by the companies served. However, the Protestant and Anglican member churches hold majority shares far outweighing their numerical relation to the Orthodox. One does not have to be an intellectual giant to see why the Latin Catholics could not allow themselves to follow the Orthodox into a share-holding position.

It is generally admitted that the 'Faith and Order' sub-unit of program unit I of the W.C.C. should be the most important concern of the Orthodox Churches. There are Orthodox who believe, however, the contrary, i.e. that cooperation on practical matters should be the *only* Orthodox concern.

Protestant theologians dedicated to union in essentials and to tolerance of differences are co-opted as friends and supporters of the W.C.C. and especially of 'Faith and Order.' These are both the preferred type of Protestant ecumenists and the ones most open to dialogue with the Orthodox.

The result of such an orientation is that a society of ecumenists has been formed which is more dedicated to each other than to the members of their own particular church.⁴ This group by W.C.C. standard comprises what may be called an ecumenical nobility which every Orthodox should feel duty-bound to completely support for the union of Protestantism.

There are no Orthodox members of this ecumenical nobility as far as is known. The reason for this is simply that what may apply to Protestant principles and needs does not necessarily apply to Orthodox principles and needs. One does not undergo medical treatment unless he needs it. Thus from the viewpoint of Protestant needs, the W.C.C. is certainly the best kind of medical treatment possible for the maladies of Protestantism. However, from the viewpoint of Orthodox needs, membership in the current organizational structure of the W.C.C. is an aimless adventure, simply because the maladies of Orthodoxy and Protestantism are not the same.

At first the Orthodox made it a practice to make separate doctrinal statements on subjects under study. This practice ended abruptly at the 1961 New Delhi General Assembly and has continued since because the Orthodox became divided over this issue. I personally sided with the idea of the common text principle at the 1963 Montreal Conference on Faith and Order. I have since changed my opinion in favor of separate statements primarily because of the Nairobi experience on the question which I will be glad to deal with during the discussion of this paper.

Indicative of the W.C.C. attitudes and possible policies vis-à-vis the Orthodox was a discussion between the newly elected General Secretary of the W.C.C. and the Ecumenical Patriarchate's committee on inter-Christian relations during the former's visit to Constantinople on 15-19 December 1972. Among the many items discussed was "4.— the question of the promotion of anti-canonical situations."

The Patriarchal committee appealed to the rule of the W.C.C.'s Constitution "according to which prior to the promotion of whatsoever related subject, entangling more widely a family of churches, to which the Church belongs for which the matter is being promoted, the agreement of the Churches of this family must be secured."⁵ However, while the matter was being processed, the Protestant majority changed the rule, thus leaving the majority of the Orthodox Churches high and dry.

The General Secretary of the W.C.C. made this action clear when he said the following: "I understand that *that which must be done* from the viewpoint of the Constitution of the W.C.C., *is contrary to the Canons and Ecclesiastical Provisions of the Orthodox Church . . .*"⁶ He went on to suggest "that the Ecumenical Patriarchate should take steps to bring about a comparable

change in canonical order and in its understanding of the provisions and requirements of the Holy Canons.”⁷

The General Secretary further stated that he understood the Orthodox position and would do everything which depended on him, but it should not be forgotten that “there are also certain obligations” which emanate both from the proceedings followed till now by his predecessor—concerning which there is a letter of his to the Ecumenical Patriarchate—and from the Rules of the W.C.C. now in force.⁸ Mr. Philip Potter promised to do all he could knowing he could do little, if anything.

This event in isolation could be considered insignificant, but it is certainly not when put into the context of the pattern of such problems. Here we have a clear case wherein Orthodox Ecclesiology and Canon Law were precariously protected by a rule, but subject to change by the Protestant majority. Of course the change was made in such a way that one Orthodox member Church was satisfied.

I am not entering into the rights and wrongs of the concrete issue, but I am raising the question concerning the very nature of our relations with the W.C.C. As matters stand the Orthodox not only *do not*, but they *cannot* control the nature of their own participation because they themselves have willingly or legally agreed to a built-in constitutional Protestant majority rule. In other words the Orthodox have legally accepted the right of the majority to make decisions which are contrary to the ecclesiology and canonical practices of the Orthodox Churches.

Since Nairobi, Orthodox proposals to the nominations committee are no longer accepted as a matter of course. The Protestant majority always had the legal right to reject Orthodox suggestions for election. Because this legal right had never to my knowledge been put to the test many Orthodox did not know this. Nairobi became the test site of these rights; whether intentionally or not is beside the point. Thus we had a series of farces from an Orthodox point of view, but the exercise of legal rights from the Protestant side.

The Patriarchate of Constantinople had submitted three names for election to the Central Committee which were approved by the nominations committee. A Protestant pastor made the motion in a plenary session that one of the metropolitan candidates of Constantinople be substituted by another metropolitan of the Constantinople delegation. The motion was seconded, debated, and voted upon. The candidate suggested by Constantinople won his

election not because his church appointed him, but because the assembly of the Protestant majority voted for him. The reaction in plenary session by the head of the Constantinople delegation was very strong. He announced at a reception that the Orthodox Churches would review their participation in the W.C.C. The slate of the Church of Russia was also approved by the nominations committee and challenged from the floor. Sensing that the plenary session may vote for this suggested change, the Russian delegation accepted it rather than risk defeat.

In a third Nairobi clash, it was the nominations committee itself which rejected the name of a retired professor of the University of Athens who had been approved by the Holy Synod. The reason given was that it was decided that the third candidate had to be either a woman or a youth. The substitution was made arbitrarily without prior consultation with the head of the delegation. Also, when the Church of Greece was asked to submit three names nothing was mentioned about a youth or a woman. The head of the delegation quit the General Assembly in protest. Had he not ordered the rest to remain, most would have left also in protest.

In the beginning of 1976 the W.C.C. had sent a letter to the Church of Greece requesting the approval of three names for membership in 'Faith and Order.' The Holy Synod approved the one and suggested two other names of scholars she believed to be more qualified. The W.C.C. accepted the one and rejected the other claiming "lack of place." That this was a tactical excuse seems strongly indicated from the fact that the W.C.C. had suggested three names to fill three places, not two. This action of the W.C.C. is no different than the U.S.A. suggesting to Russia and telling her who should represent Russian Communism in dialogue with American capitalism and dictating who will not. The ecclesiological implications of such events as the above should be carefully explored.

In an interview to the New York Times, the Archbishop of Athens accused the W.C.C. of Protestant majority rule without regard to Orthodox minority rights and announced the Church's determination to ask for changes in the constitution to protect these rights.

At Nairobi the Orthodox witnessed the strange spectre of a Protestant pastor from Zaire who went from section to section accusing the Orthodox of not being good Christians. He argued

that only lack of Christian love could explain why the Orthodox refuse intercommunion with other Christians. Especially interesting was the fact that M.M. Thomas mentioned the accusations of this pastor and the 'attempts' of the Orthodox to answer in his recapitulatory address which brought the work of the Nairobi General Assembly to a close.

The mounting pressure on the Orthodox in regard to intercommunion from Anglicans, Protestants, and Latin Catholics is effectively dealt with by a 1978 study by Archimandrite Kalistos Ware on the recent history of this problem.⁹

The Non-Chalcedonians

Unofficial dialogue between Orthodox and Non-Chalcedonians began in August 1964. The agreed statement includes the following:

The Synod of Chalcedon (451), we realize, can only be understood as *reaffirming* the decisions of Ephesos (431), and best understood in the light of the later Synod of Constantinople (553). All synods, we have recognized, have to be seen as stages in an integral development and no synod or document should be studied in isolation.¹⁰

One can appreciate why we were so optimistic after Aarhus. However, this positive attitude toward the Fourth and subsequent Ecumenical Synods became more negative at our second meeting in Bristol, England (1967) and quite hard at our third meeting in Geneva (1970).

At an *ad hoc* meeting, organized by the W.C.C. in Addis Ababa (1971), not attended by several key members of the prior meetings, a Greek Orthodox member of the W.C.C. staff was presented in the published minutes as claiming that "we cannot put formal recognition of Chalcedon as a pre-condition of union."¹¹

The Non-Chalcedonians have only three Ecumenical Synods. From this viewpoint they could be quite useful in dealing with the Orthodox claims that Seven or Eight Ecumenical Synods are required for restoration of the unity of Christendom. It seems that the Non-Chalcedonians are more important to the W.C.C. as they are, especially if communion can be restored along the lines suggested by the W.C.C. staff member at Addis Ababa just quoted.

The Latin Catholics

There are strong indications that dialogue with the Latin Catholic Church to commence in seven days has been organized thus far within the context of the decisions of Vatican II. The key to understanding developments to date is the combination of three interdependent factors which seem to compose the method of union being used. For many years Latin theologians have been listening attentively to Orthodox explanations and insistence that intercommunion is impossible since the very act of communion is the result and expression of union in faith and therefore *is* the Orthodox understanding of church union.

The second factor is that interpretation of the schism which claims that the 1054 mutual excommunications and anathemas had taken place as an event between Old and New Rome alone. This event supposedly did not include the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.¹² It emphasized that subsequent to this event there are examples of sacramental communion between Western and Eastern Christians in the Middle East. These examples cease with the Latin conquest of Constantinople which, so the story goes, is the real cause and general consummation of the schism. Thus hatred and not doctrine is the cause of the split between the so-called Greek East and Latin West.

The third factor is the teaching and practice of the Latin papacy that one can be a member of the Church by means of a reflexive faith whereby one does not have to directly and openly accept all dogmas so long as one does not publicly oppose them. These three factors make the possibility of union real by expanding Uniatism which already exists within such dimensions. The Uniates oppose Latin exclusiveness but do not reject its legitimacy. Orthodox who understand this opposition as a rejection are proof of the success of the method. One of the stated purposes of the dialogue from the Latin point of view is to get the Orthodox to accept the legitimacy of Latin doctrinal developments without necessarily accepting these developments for themselves. The Anglicans and the W.C.C. are showing indications that they are following a similar although not identical line on the question of the filioque, as we shall see.

These factors become even more potent when cast into the framework of eucharistic ecclesiology and of Fr. Nicholas Afanasieff's views on intercommunion between Orthodox and

Latins, as pointed out clearly by Father Ware. Having these factors in mind one can see that union or the manifestation of a supposedly already-existing union requires four things: 1) the lifting of the anathemas between Old and New Rome, 2) the lifting of the excommunication between Old and New Rome, 3) the abolition of hatred caused by the Latin capture and sacking of New Rome, and 4) the restoration of communion. Thus we will allegedly have returned to the union which existed prior to 1054. The lifting of the anathemas has been accomplished. The restoration of communion has been decided by Vatican II which recognizes Orthodox sacraments and not only permits intercommunion but encourages it.¹³ In keeping with these decisions the Latin Church lifted the excommunication of 1054, which is a step ahead of Constantinople, which restricted herself to the lifting of the anathemas. The abolition of hatred is in the process of being completed by the dialogue of love. This evidently is supposed to cover the requirements of the Orthodox Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, as well as that of the other Orthodox Churches. The fact that the Church of Constantinople lifted the anathemas, without consulting the other Orthodox Churches means that she accepts the position that this is a matter which concerns Old and New Rome alone.

The first Geneva meeting in June 1977 of the preparatory Orthodox Committee was presented with a draft of a text for discussion which in outline was similar to a text prepared by the Latin side. After some introductory remarks, it dealt with the purpose, methodology, and topics of the dialogue. In addition to this common outline, the text of the Latin committee concluded with a section called important recommendations. This text of the Latin Committee was in perfect accord with Vatican II.

The Orthodox draft text had no reference to the decision of the Fourth Pan-Orthodox Conference that the criterion for this dialogue would be the restoration of communion based on the common faith of the undivided Church of the Seven Ecumenical Synods. Therefore, it was suggested that reference be made to this in the paragraph on the purpose of the dialogue. This motion was put into writing to be discussed and voted upon. A compromise was suggested that reference to the Ecumenical Synods should be omitted and considered covered by the phrase "based on the common life and common tradition of the ancient and undivided Church."

This was finally accepted. Subsequently a sub-committee of the Orthodox committee met in Rome with a sub-committee of the Latins in March 1978. Then the full Orthodox preparatory committee was invited to reconvene in Geneva, July 1978.

Before the distribution of the text with the proposed changes a member of the Orthodox sub-committee at the March meeting in Rome took the floor and announced a great success. The Latin sub-committee at the Rome meeting liked the Orthodox text so much that they proposed to drop theirs and to adopt the Orthodox one as a common text for both sides. As a prerequisite they asked for a few changes. As it turned out the most important change requested was that the term "undivided" be omitted from the purpose of the dialogue. Discussions were exciting, to say the least.

It was also pointed out that the Church of Greece was in the process of reviewing the whole question of common texts in the W.C.C. Therefore, the representatives of the Church of Greece had no authorization to compose or accept a common text which is a matter for the Church to decide. It was also pointed out that, for the Orthodox, faith and formulation of the faith in Synods are one identical reality. However, for the Latin tradition they are not and this was clearly stated in the original text of the Latin side¹⁴ which repeats Vatican II.¹⁵

The representatives of the Church of Greece claimed that by omitting from the purpose of the dialogue the question of the Ecumenical Synods and/or the undivided Church and by accepting a common text on the purpose of the dialogue we would in reality be accepting both the distinctions just quoted and the decisions of Vatican II. Therefore, at least reference to the "undivided" Church must be retained.

The spokesman for the Church of Greece pointed out that the Latin members of the dialogue are bound by the decisions of Vatican II concerning unity, dialogue, intercommunion and Uniatism. It is clear, therefore, that our text by becoming their text agrees with the decisions of Vatican II except where differences are clearly stated. The Greek delegation participated in the alterations in order to make the text as Orthodox as possible.

In spite of the fact that at least one doctrinal weakness remained, i.e., a distinction between Triadology and Pneumatology, the text was unanimously accepted as adequately Orthodox, i.e. if it were to be an Orthodox text alone and not a common text. The Greek

delegation left the matter of whether the text would be common open for the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece to decide for herself.

At the first meeting of the Orthodox preparatory committee the question of which subject to begin with was extensively debated. One group wanted to begin with subjects like the mysteries (sacraments), which, it claimed, unite Eastern and Western Christians. This suggestion was also made by the Latins. Others preferred to begin with the subjects which divide us. The candidate subjects were reduced to mysteries and ecclesiology. The Church of Greece supported ecclesiology, but the mysteries won out.

My position is that the mysteries do not unite Eastern and Western Christians since their foundation is the distinction between the uncreated divine grace, in which one may participate, and the uncreated divine essence of the divine hypostases, in which creatures do not and cannot participate. Moreover, the Church is manifested in and through the mysteries. Thus, by discussing the mysteries one should be discussing the doctrines of God, of the incarnation and of the Church unavoidably, unless of course one's theology is not Orthodox.

In July 1978 the preparatory committee finished its work with the open question on the common text, as far as the Church of Greece was concerned, and disbanded. Subsequently, the committee for dialogue was appointed. This committee for dialogue will meet for the first time on 29 May 1980 in Patmos and will coincide with the first joint meeting of the Orthodox and Latin commissions.

Meanwhile, Professor John Karmiris had tendered his resignation from the delegation of the Church of Greece. He gave as reasons inadequate preparation on the Orthodox side, disagreement over the subject to be initially discussed, and the unresolved problem of Uniatism.

The Anglicans

Dialogue with the Anglican Communion had reached a state of maturity which one may be tempted to describe as the beginnings of mutual understanding, were it not for the question of the ordination of women and indications of Anglican policy decisions to steer the Orthodox to predetermined positions in concert with the member churches of the W.C.C., especially on the questions of the filioque and intercommunion.

Another important factor is the apparent reticence of the Anglicans in dialogue due to a basic Anglican indifference to what an individual believes one way or another on any given doctrinal subject and also due to what seems to be a policy of letting the Orthodox talk themselves out of positions, arguments, and breath. The Anglicans literally reject nothing the Orthodox may present except exclusivity.

Anglican comprehensiveness is by far the main reason why the Orthodox have a moral and scientific obligation to continuously review the feasibility of this dialogue. Most Orthodox seem not yet to have fully grasped the fact that Anglicans, like Protestants generally, do not accept something as correct in actuality simply because it is to be found in the Bible. The same is even more so for the Ecumenical Synods and the Fathers. They may thus agree that an Orthodox description of an historical doctrinal formulation is correct, but this does not necessarily mean either obligatory exclusion of other formulations or obligatory acceptance. It is in the light of such distinctions that the agreement on the filioque should be viewed.

The Anglican members of the sub-commission on the filioque agreed that the term *procession* in the Creed was equivalent to and parallel with the term *generation* and identical to the original patristic notion that like the Son, the Holy Spirit has His origin from the Father, but not by generation. 'Procession,' therefore, in the Creed means manner of existence which is not that of the Son's generation. The term 'procession' was preferred by the Fathers of the Second Ecumenical Synod (381) over the term 'not by generation' for literary and not theological reasons.

Problems arose, however, because the term 'procession' was already being used in Latin to signify mission or action. Augustine is the first to identify procession as mission with the Holy Spirit's manner of existence. This identity was elevated by the Franks into a dogma. The Anglican chairman of the sub-commission on the filioque is now Archbishop of Canterbury at whose enthronement on March 25 the Creed was both printed and recited without the filioque. All Anglican members of this sub-commission and all but three Anglican members of the full commission agreed that the Orthodox were correct doctrinally also, as far as the Eastern tradition and its descriptive analysis are concerned. However, Anglican inclination is strong that this does not exclude the legitimacy and

value of the whole filioque tradition in the West. It is now clear, though, that Anglicans are working in concert with the W.C.C. to get the filioque removed from the Creed on the one hand and to reduce the whole question to the level of a so-called *theologoumenon*, or as they understand the term, permissible opinion.

Regarding this point the Orthodox mentioned that there is an Orthodox filioque in the West wherein procession has two meanings as explained by Maximos the Confessor and Anastasios the Librarian and repeated by St. Gregory Palamas and the Orthodox at Florence. When procession means manner of existence, the Holy Spirit has only the Father as cause, and when it means mission then procession is a common and identical energy of the Holy Trinity. The whole question resolves itself into the axiom that what is common is common to the three Persons, and what is individual or hypostatic or personal property is incommunicable and belongs to one Person alone. This position, which was the basis of the Roman papacy's participation in the condemnation of the filioque as heresy at the Photian Synod of 879, can hardly be considered a *theologoumenon*.¹⁶

Since the Moscow meeting left the filioque question open from the doctrinal viewpoint, some Orthodox felt that the question should continue to occupy the sub-commission responsible for it. Nonetheless, it was omitted from the subsequent Cambridge agenda prepared at Moscow, as well as the future Cardiff agenda also prepared at Cambridge. The reason has now become clear. During the discussions the Anglicans repeatedly expressed their desire to act in concert with the other churches belonging to the medieval filioque tradition. The Anglicans had been waiting for the W.C.C. to complete its work on the filioque. This is why the filioque and the doctrine of the Trinity are being re-introduced into the discussions, and indeed in a peculiar manner.

At the Steering Committee meeting in July 1979, it was accepted as a matter of course that the agenda decided upon at Cambridge would be that of the meetings of the subcommissions at Cardiff in July 1980. However, at a staff meeting held in September 1979 it was decided to drop the agenda for the third sub-commission and replace it with "The Doctrine of the Holy Trinity in East and West." This third sub-commission had not been responsible before for the filioque question, which was handled by the second sub-commission originally appointed at Oxford to deal with issues of

doctrine and history of doctrine and their application.

Although this meeting called itself a 'Staff Meeting,' it surpassed the Steering Committee in its exercise of executive functions. The duty of the Steering Committee was simply to execute and implement the agenda and study paper decisions of the full commissions.

The W.C.C. studies on the filioque seem to be the key to these moves.¹⁷ The historical section of these W.C.C. papers contains two chapters, one by an Orthodox who reviews the procession of the Holy Spirit in certain of the so-called Greek Fathers, and a second one by a Protestant who deals with the filioque controversy. The Fathers of the Church who wrote in Latin are lumped into a so-called Western Trinitarian tradition so that part of the medieval Frankish myth is perpetuated that the Latin tradition is by nature that of the filioque. However, the other part of this same Frankish myth, whereby it used to be claimed that even the Eastern Fathers were by nature also members of the filioque tradition until supposedly betrayed by the Photian party, is partly discarded.

The W.C.C.'s general position is that both the medieval East and West went to extremes in elevating a speculative question, whose both sides are valuable and complementary, to the level of exaggerated dogmas. This line is clearly followed in a two-page paper prepared for the Anglican Consultative Council and "offered to the Churches of the Anglican Communion . . . to assist them in presenting the theological issues to their appropriate synodical bodies . . ."¹⁸

It is evidently hoped that the Orthodox will be so pleased with the removal of the filioque from the Creed that they will refrain from labeling it as a heresy and accept it as a *theologoumenon*, as some Orthodox have evidently already done, at least according to the impression created by the W.C.C. report "The Filioque Clause in Ecumenical Perspective." The cited paper claims that "Eastern Churchmen . . . opposed its introduction into the Creed and its being raised thereby in status from a *theologoumenon* (a permissible opinion) into a dogma. However, their opposition was based primarily on the embargo on further additions to the Creed contained in the seventh canon of the Council of Ephesos in 431 A.D."¹⁹ This is correct so far as the question of addition is concerned, but not so far as doctrine is concerned.

Both Anglicans and Protestants have nothing to lose and much to gain from demoting the filioque from a dogma to a *theologoumenon* since their acceptance of Ecumenical Synods barely reaches as far as the Fourth. With one shot they take care of both the Orthodox and the Latins.

The W.C.C. report presents St. Maximos the Confessor as a reconciler of the two supposedly variant Trinitarian traditions of East and West. This is simply not true. What St. Maximos clearly explains is that the doctrine is the same, the only difference being in the use of the term procession since in Latin it has the two meanings mentioned. In any case, nowhere does Photios, or any of the Fathers of the Synod of 879 claim that the filioque is a heresy as a dogma, but Orthodox as a *theologoumenon*. St. Cyril of Alexandria did not respond to the accusations of Theodoretos of Cyrus by claiming that the filioque is a *theologoumenon*. He simply pointed out that he was being misinterpreted.

The Orthodox in the Ecumenical Movement and in dialogue are evidently about to go through a period during which their resolve in claiming exclusivity for their tradition will be tested severely, especially on the question of intercommunion wherein Anglicans, Protestants, Latin Catholics and Non-Chalcedonians have effectively isolated the Orthodox. The question is included in the Anglican-Orthodox Cardiff meeting of sub-commission one as part of the topic "The Church and the Churches." Plans are to take the subject to the next full commission meeting.

For years the same things are said over and over again. One wonders what and whose purpose is being served by continuing this discussion about intercommunion. The Anglicans and the W.C.C. will remove the filioque from the Creed. No matter how the Orthodox and Latin Catholics view the dogmatical aspects of the filioque, the Anglicans and the W.C.C. seem to be determined to follow the course contained in a declaration suggested to the Anglican Churches which begins as follows: "We recognize both traditions of Trinitarian theology, Western and Eastern, as valuable in themselves and as bringing out complementary aspects of the truth . . ." ²⁰ Given this fixation of Anglican and W.C.C. policy, what is the purpose of continuing dialogue about the filioque under the guise of the doctrine of the Trinity?

A protracted discussion on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, like the discussion on intercommunion, can have only one primary

purpose, i.e., to bring the Orthodox down from their doctrinal pedestals and into the comprehensiveness characteristic of Anglicans and the Protestants of the W.C.C. and in some ways of the Latin Catholics also. Strategy is indeed an exhilarating science whether applied to military tactics, diplomacy, business, economics, sports, human relations, advertising, medical therapy, warfare against the devil, or games like chess and ecumenical dialogue. Strategy is to devise a plan whose careful execution may bring about an advantage either for one's own good or that of another or even for the one intended to be duped by the strategist.

We have pointed to some strong and some not so strong indications that special strategies have been devised for the benefit of the Orthodox Church from the viewpoint of the W.C.C., Anglicanism, and Latin Catholicism. One sometimes sees signs of strategy in the actions of Orthodox Churches in dialogue. In other cases, however, the impression is one not only of lack of strategy, but even of simple policy except of course for the usual repetition of traditional phrases. It is hoped that the few selected points discussed in this talk may become the occasion of establishing a tradition of continuing theological consultation on dialogue to help our Churches formulate the strategies required for the good of the W.C.C. and those participating in the dialogue.

NOTES

The Orthodox Theological Society of America has established an annual lecture in honor of the great Orthodox theologian Father Georges Florovsky. Father John Romanides of the School of Theology of the University of Thessalonike was invited by the Society to give the first lecture, delivered on 23 May 1980.

1. E.g. "The Ecclesiology of St. Ignatius of Antioch," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 7 (1961), pp. 53-77; *The Dogmatic and Symbolic Theology of the Orthodox Catholic Church* (in Greek)(Thessalonike, 1973), vol. 1; *Critical Examination of the Applications of Theology, Procès-Verbaux du Deuxième Congrès de Théologie Orthodoxe* (Athens, 1978), pp. 413-41.

2. *Papers*, Metropolitan Methodios of Askum (Athens, 1976).

3. See his *Civilization on Trial* (Oxford, 1948); *The World and the West* (Oxford, 1953).

4. *World Book Nairobi 75*, W.C.C. (Geneva, 1975), pp. 24-25.

5. *Report*, 18 January 1973, p. 15.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

9. See "Church and Eucharist, Communion and Intercommunion," *Sobornost* 7(1978).
10. *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 10 (1964-65), pp. 14-15.
11. *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 16 (1971), p. 220.
12. Peter III of Antioch clearly dates the schism in the year 1009 and protests at the suggestion that Antioch commemorates the Frankish popes. On this and related questions see my book *Romanism, Romania, Roumeli* (in Greek)(Athens, 1975), pp. 59-71.
13. *Decree on the Catholic Churches of the Eastern Rite*, pp. 24-29.
14. «C'est l'identité de foi que l'on recherche, non une identité de théologies. Il y a donc une claire distinction à faire entre le contenu de la foi, la formulation de la foi et la réflexion théologique sur la foi. Tandis que le contenu doit demeurer le même, varient au contraire sa formulation et la façon concrète de la réaliser dans la vie des Églises . . .», *Orientations Pour Le Dialogue Théologique Entre L'Église Catholique Et L'Église Orthodoxe*, p. 3.
15. *Decree on Ecumenism* 17.
16. The Orthodox positions developed in discussions on the filioque are contained in my paper "Filioque, Anglican Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Discussions," paper no. 166, published in *Kleronomia*, 7 (1975), pp. 285-314. For details on the Trinitarian and historical background of the filioque controversy see also my *The Dogmatic and Symbolic Theology of the Orthodox Catholic Church*, (Thessalonike, 1973), pp. 186-400.
17. Faith and Order 1979, paper no 13 entitled "W.C.C. Commission on Faith and Order, The Filioque Clause in Ecumenical Perspective."
18. "Anglican Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Discussions," paper no. 195.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*

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THEKLA THE NUN: IN PRAISE OF WOMAN

In the prologue of the *Theotokarion* published in Venice in 1796 Nikodemos Hagioreites listed and described twenty-two holy and inspired melodies, the authors of the sixty-two kanons in honor of the Theotokos included in his collection.¹ Beginning with the name of Saint Andrew of Crete, whom Byzantine tradition credited with the creation of the canon, this list included many of Byzantium's most illustrious hymnographers. Among these are named Saints John Damascene, Theodore the Studite, Joseph the Hymnographer and John Mauropus of Euchaita. In this thiasos of hymn-writing monks, abbots, and bishops, two figures stand out conspicuously: one emperor, Theodore I Laskaris of Nicaea (reg. 1204-1222), and one woman, Thekla. Nikodemos ends his list with her name: *καὶ Θέκλα ἡ γλυκυτάτη Ἑχώ.*²

Thekla the Nun, as she is most frequently identified,³ survives in a single hymn,⁴ a canon in honor of the Theotokos.⁵ Thanks to this hymn found in a number of manuscripts,⁶ this ninth-century nun joins an exclusive group of Byzantine women hymnographers.⁷ Three contemporaries, Kassia,⁸ Thekla, and Theodosia,⁹ along with Palaiologina, who probably lived in the fifteenth century,¹⁰ comprise this small group. All four composed kanons. All four were nuns. Kassia and Theodosia were 'pieuses abesses' of convents in the imperial city of Constantinople.¹¹ It is probable that Thekla was also an abbess. Judging from the strong personality projected in her canon, Thekla too might have governed a convent while composing sacred poetry.

In fact, Thekla's canon reveals that she was more than a sweet echo, the author of hymns. She was a self-confident woman, proud not only of herself, but also of her sex. In her encomium to the Theotokos, the most exalted of all women, Thekla did not hesitate to praise other lesser women, the women martyrs and the consecrated virgins of the Church.

Women, indeed, dominate Thekla's hymn. It was written by a woman, about women and for women. The few masculine figures who appear in it are related to the Theotokos: Joachim, her father;¹² Moses,¹³ Jacob,¹⁴ and Gideon,¹⁵ whose experiences of the deity prefigured God's birth from a virgin mother; Christ, Mary's divine son.¹⁶

From the first to the last verse the Theotokos is the principal figure, the object of Thekla's encomium. She is the 'Thou' to whom the poet addresses all but three strophes.¹⁷ With a graceful image the encomiast introduces her subject at the beginning of the first ode. It is a ceremonial presentation to the Theotokos of Thekla's hymn:

Ἐγκωμίων σοι
 ἀειθαλὲς διάδημα
 νῦν ἐξυφαίνει πνεύματι
 ἡ ἐκκλησία, σεμνή

vv. 1-4

The *ekklesia* (another feminine figure) formally presents to the Theotokos an everlasting crown of praise. Likewise, all six prayers of the kanon are addressed to the Mother of God.¹⁸ Throughout the reader is aware of the benevolent power and presence of the Theotokos.

The second ubiquitous feminine presence is that of the sacred poet herself. Thekla stands always before the Theotokos, offering to her both praise and prayer.¹⁹ Seldom does she withdraw from the foreground. Her voice is heard in the liturgical 'we' as well as in the first person singular. Thekla signs the kanon with her name in the acrostic. She also proudly pays homage to her patron saint, Thekla the Protomartyr.

In addition, women from the Scriptures and apocrypha are named in this kanon. Ann, the mother of the Theotokos, is mentioned once.²⁰ Thekla alludes to three episodes from the New Testament in which women are the protagonists. These allusions were undoubtedly immediately recognized by Thekla's congregation of nuns. In vv. 61-64 she echoes the acclamation of the unknown woman in Luke 11.27-28. The refrain of Ode Z', repeated four times, is derived from Elizabeth's salutation to Mary on the occasion of her visit after the Annunciation, recorded in Luke 1.46. Finally, in a personal prayer Thekla likens herself and her hymn to the widow who gave her mite, as related in Mark 12.41-44 and Luke 21.1-4.²¹

Nor are references to women in general lacking. There are at least a half dozen references to the female sex. The word *γυναῖκες* and the phrase *ἡ φύσις τοῦ θήλεος* each occurs three times.²² Nuns are specifically referred to twice.²³

In several respects Thekla's kanon is unique in the extensive

published corpus of Byzantine hymnography. I know of no comparable hymn. Although for a millennium male hymnographers in Byzantium sang the praises of the Theotokos, this hymn is the only one by a woman which has survived. Women martyrs were also hymned by male bards in Byzantium. Masculine prejudice and condescension, however, all too often marred their hymns. In Thekla's kanon women are treated with the respect which was usually denied them in the sacred poetry of the Church.²⁴

Thekla the Nun was fortunate in the time of her life. In the history of the ninth century, women figured prominently in various ways. Empresses, hymnographers, nuns and lay women helped secure the victory of Orthodoxy over iconoclasm. A disapproving historian gave them due credit: "The idols, for such they were now held, were secretly cherished by the order and sex most prone to devotion; and the fond alliance of the monks and females obtained a final victory over the reason and authority of man."²⁵

When the century opened, a woman ruled the empire in her own right, boldly signing herself *Basileus*. Athenian-born Eirene was Europe's first woman monarch.²⁶ In 787 she had restored Orthodoxy and the veneration of icons, ending five decades of tumultuous conflict. Iconoclasm was finally liquidated by another empress in 843. After the death of her husband, Theophilos, Theodora returned Church and empire to the path of Orthodoxy. Eirene and Theodora are both commemorated on the Feast of Orthodoxy when a grateful Church acknowledges its debt to two imperial Orthodox women.

From the beginning of the iconoclastic controversy in the eighth century women of all social classes, nuns and laywomen alike, had proven themselves to be staunch iconophiles, loyal to the traditions of the Church. They endured persecutions and suffered martyrdom in defense of icons. Theodosia of Constantinople, a nun, was one of the first iconoclastic martyrs. When the first iconoclastic emperor, Leo the Isaurian, ordered in 729 the removal of the icon of Christ from the Chalke Gate, a "crowd of zealots and women,"²⁷ led by Theodosia, tried to prevent the desecration. Martyred for her faith, this activist nun quickly became the object of a popular cult in Constantinople.²⁸

During this crisis women went beyond their conventional pursuits, whether private or religious, and participated publicly in the defense of traditional Orthodox beliefs and practices. It is no accident that three of the four women hymnographers of Byzantium belong to this period. Kassia, Thekla and Theodosia all responded

to the challenge and threat of iconoclasm. From the correspondence of Theodore the Studite we learn that Kassia suffered persecution because she assisted iconodule prisoners and exiles.²⁹ Theodosia composed a kanon in honor of Saint Ioannikios soon after the death of this iconophile champion.³⁰ In her kanon Thekla proclaims the triumph of Orthodoxy and honors the women of the Church who made it possible.

At the same time Thekla's kanon discloses her own autobiography. This Byzantine woman, typical of her time, was a devout Orthodox believer. She was also a sacred poet and nun, dedicating herself entirely to the *ekklesia*. Accepting the Christian vision of women and the position assigned to them, Thekla fulfilled herself. In the course of this essay we shall discover the woman behind the sweet echo described in Nikodemos' prologue.

Thekla's encomium is a conventional kanon composed of nine odes (actually eight in number since the second ode is almost always omitted).³¹ Set in the second tone, it was composed to be sung at vespers on Tuesday. Unlike Kassia who sometimes composed new melodies for her hymns,³² Thekla used older well-known heirmoi for the odes of her kanon.³³ Together with the kathisma,³⁴ the kanon consists of one hundred ninety-eight verses, divided into strophes of varying lengths, the shortest being four verses long and the longest nine.

Twenty-seven of the thirty-two strophes appear to be original compositions by Thekla. The other five, the final strophes of Odes Γ', ΣΤ', Ζ', Η', Θ', are also found in a kanon attributed to Klement, thus producing a difficult problem of authorship.³⁵ Formed by the initial letters of the strophes, the acrostic varies according to the arrangement of the strophes. In the text published by Eustratiades the name of Klement appears along with that of Thekla in the acrostic: 'Εγκ[ωμι]άζει τήν Θεοτόκον Θέκλα· Κλήμεντος.³⁶ In the text of Nikodemos, however, the strophes are so arranged that only Thekla's name appears in the acrostic, formed by the initial letters of the last two odes.³⁷ Despite the confusion and uncertainties which result from the inclusion of the five strophes attributed to Klement, there seems to be no reason to deny Thekla's authorship of the kanon. A feminine point of view prevails throughout, distinctive and clear.

Although Thekla's voice is the only one heard, it does not become monotonous. She varies her voice by speaking sometimes in the liturgical 'we,' and at other times in the individual 'I.' Here, as in many Byzantine hymns, the liturgical and individual voices

co-exist harmoniously. Within a single hymn the sacred poet may speak both for the Church and for himself. To these two frequently heard voices Thekla adds a third, seldom heard in Byzantine hymnography. In the final ode she speaks in behalf of a particular group inside the larger community of the Church, in behalf of women consecrated to God. Exceptionally, the Byzantine convent is heard in Thekla's *kanon*. The same rare voice again is heard in Kassia's hymn for Holy Saturday.³⁸

Since Thekla composed her encomium to the Theotokos for use in the liturgy, she appropriately speaks most often in the first person plural, which embraces the sacred poet and the congregation. Thus 'we' the Church praise the Theotokos:

Μυστικῶς ἀνυμνοῦμέν σε
μῆτερ Θεοῦ, φωναῖς ὀρθοδοξίας

vv. 65-66

From the frequent repetition of verbs of 'hymning' in the first person plural evolves a dynamic image of Thekla and the *ekklesia* singing the praises of the Theotokos.³⁹ The sacred poet accomplishes her *diakonia*, enabling the Church to sing with Gabriel.⁴⁰

Likewise, the same communal voice of the Church is heard in three liturgical prayers, each addressed to the Theotokos.⁴¹ In the first of these the people of the Church appeal to the Theotokos, their refuge and protector. This prayer expresses the unquenchable trust of the Byzantines in the Theotokos:

Καταφύγων
καί σωτηρίου πόλιν σε
πάντες πιστῶς πρεσβεύομεν⁴²
Μαρία μήτηρ Χριστοῦ
καί δεόμεθα θερμῶς
δέξαι τὰς δεήσεις ἡμῶν
τῶν σῶν πιστῶν οἰκετῶν

vv. 28-34

Byzantium's sacred poets, however, did not always conceal themselves within the solemn petitions which they pronounced for the corporate praying Church. Very often the poet prayed for himself alone. In these prayers he combined petitions for personal salvation with appeals for poetic inspiration. With such a prayer Saint Romanos the Melodos concluded one of his masterpieces, asking God to forgive his sins and to grant beauty and truth to his hymn.⁴³

Thekla includes two private or personal prayers in her *kanon*. The first appears as the *kathisma*, at the end of Ode ΣΤ'. Modeled on the *heirmos* *Εὐσπλαγχνίας ὑπάρχουσα πηγὴ*, it is a penitential prayer.⁴⁴ In contrast to the model which is a liturgical prayer, Thekla's prayer is intensely personal, concerned solely with the welfare of her own soul:

Ῥαθυμίαν ψυχῆς μου τήν χαλεπήν
καί καρδίας μου πώρωσιν, μήτερ Θεοῦ

vv. 105-106

As an individual suppliant the poet addresses an intimate appeal to the Theotokos.⁴⁵ Using the first person singular pronoun four times in the six verses, Thekla beseeches the Theotokos who is her only recourse,

ἡ μόνη ἐλπίς μου καί παράκλησις

v. 110

The tone of contrition which dominates the first prayer disappears completely from the second, with which the final ode begins. Here Thekla is the sacred poet bearing gifts of praise to the Theotokos. Notwithstanding the *topos* of modesty which is expressed in comparison to the widow and her mite, Thekla's words convey personal dignity and professional pride in her vocation as church poet:

Κλινόν μοι τό οὖς σου, Παρθένε
παναγία, ἀνυμνούσῃ πιστῶς
δι' ἐγκωμίων λόγων τόν τόκον σου
καί ὥς δῶρα χηριακά
τούς ὕμνους τῶν χειλέων μου
προσδεχομένη αἰτῆσαι
ἁμαρτιῶν μου τήν συγχώρησιν.

vv. 171-177

At the beginning of the *kanon* it was the *ekklesia* which offered the hymn. At the end it is the hymnographer herself who steps forward alone and offers the hymn created by her faith and talent.

Nor did Thekla hesitate to project herself as an individual Orthodox believer. Twice with her personal conviction she buttressed Orthodox dogma on the Incarnation. In the first instance she shifts within the same strophe from the first person plural of the apostolic *κηρύττομεν* to the pronoun in the first person singu-

lar, thus separating herself from the community to which she belonged:

Θρόνον σε Θεοῦ τοῦ Λόγου
κηρύττομεν, Θεοτόκε,
ἐν ᾧ ὡς βροτός ὁ Θεός
καθήμενος ὥπταί μοι

vv. 74-77

What the Church teaches, Thekla confirms on the basis of her experience.

A similar insistence and reliance on her own religious experience marks the second passage. But here there is no shift from the corporate to the individual. With the poetic and visionary language of a mystic Thekla insists on the truth of the Incarnation and on Mary's part in it:

Οὐρανός οὐρανῶν ὑψηλότερος
ᾤφθης, Θεονύμφευτε, τῇ θείᾳ δόξῃ σου·
ἐν σοί γάρ ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν
ὀλικῶς ἐποχούμενος ᾤφθη μοι.

vv. 93-96

These words express Thekla's deeply felt beliefs, the Orthodoxy which iconoclasm had endangered.

Finally, Thekla speaks in her person as a nun. At the end of the *kanon* the third voice is heard when she identifies herself and her congregation as nuns. Her encomium was composed for performance in the convent. It contains hymns and prayers that belong to the world hidden behind the encircling walls of a convent.

From a rich hymnic and homiletic tradition Thekla borrowed the materials out of which she wove her 'crown of encomia' for the Theotokos. Orthodox theology of the Incarnation and of Mary's unique relationship to God provided the foundation of her *kanon*. Although Thekla's veneration of the Theotokos borders, by her own confession, on worship, she nevertheless does not exaggerate Mary's power.⁴⁶ Nor does she isolate the mother from the son, being always careful to associate Mary with Christ. In the personal prayers Thekla explicitly appeals to the Theotokos for her mediation.⁴⁷

The vocabulary and themes which Thekla employed in the ninth century already had a long lineage of Byzantine hymnography. They can be traced back through the *Akathistos Hymnos*, the

most famous of all Marian hymns, to an anonymous primitive kontakion written soon after the Council of Ephesos (431 A.D.), and to fifth-century Marian sermons as well.⁴⁸ The same epithets, titles, images and typology used by Thekla are common to all the kanons found in the *Theotokaria*, whose dates of composition range from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries. From all these Marian hymns Thekla's kanon is distinguished only by its feminine accent and perspective. From an unknown convent, probably in Constantinople, comes a woman's joyful song of praise to the Theotokos and her spiritual daughters, the women of the Church.

From the verses of Thekla's encomium a luminous icon of the Theotokos becomes readily visible. The kanon begins with a reference to the Annunciation, when the angel appeared to Mary and she accepted her destiny, agreeing to become the mother of God.⁴⁹ In the second ode two strophes are devoted to the Nativity of the Theotokos, the beginning of mankind's salvation.⁵⁰ Numerous references to the Nativity of Christ point to the cause of Mary's glory. Nowhere is it forgotten that her *doxa* derives from the great mystery of her motherhood. The noun *τόκος* and verbs "to give birth" occur frequently.⁵¹ Seven times Thekla uses the word *Theotokos*, Mary's most exalted title.⁵² She is also called *Meter Theou* six times and once *Meter Christou*.⁵³ Thekla recalls that Mary's maternity had been prefigured in the Old Testament. Moses and the burning bush on Sinai, Jacob's vision of the ladder joining earth to heaven, and the dew on Gideon's fleece had all foreshadowed God's birth on earth from a virgin.⁵⁴

The hymnodist claims, however, that nothing in past sacred history had ever equalled Mary's *doxa*.⁵⁵ To describe this unparalleled glory Thekla resorts to comparisons. The first of the three is the longest. At the beginning of the fifth ode the poet triumphantly proclaims Mary's superiority to the old dispensation embodied in the law and ark:

Νόμου σε τιμιωτέραν
τῆς κιβωτοῦ ἀνυμνοῦμεν·
τόν γάρ πάντων κτίστην καί Θεόν
οὐ πλάκας ἐβάστασας,
πανύμνητε Θεοτόκε Μαρία.

vv. 69-73

The second comparison, in the same ode, sets the Theotokos above the cherubim.⁵⁶ The third, in the sixth ode, declares Mary more sublime than the heavens.⁵⁷

Other hieratic epithets and titles elaborate the theme of Mary's majestic maternity: γῆ ἁγία;⁵⁸ θρόνον Θεοῦ;⁵⁹ νέος παράδεισος;⁶⁰ γεωργήσασα ἄμπελον;⁶¹ ἁγία and σεμνή.⁶² Superlatives and theophoric compounds also occur: παναγία;⁶³ πανύμνητος; ὑπερένδοξος; θεοχαρίτωτος; θεονύμφευτος.⁶⁴

Thekla praises Mary not only as the Mother of God but also as mankind's benefactor. Her benefactions are many and universal. By giving birth to God, she reconciled man to God.⁶⁵ Reconciliation leads to salvation. Gratitude for salvation made possible by Mary fills the second strophe of the eighth ode:

Θέλγεται πᾶσα ἡ Χριστοῦ
ἐκκλησία, Θεοτόκε, σοῦ τῷ τόκῳ
ὅτι σώζονται πάντες
ἁμαρτωλοὶ καὶ πτωχοὶ
οἱ πόθῳ ἐν σοὶ καταφεύγοντες

vv. 150-154

By means of a familiar nautical metaphor Thekla describes the protection which the Theotokos offers troubled humanity:⁶⁶

λμήν ὡς εὐδως
διέσωσας ἐκ ζάλης πικρᾶς.

vv. 26-27

Byzantine hopes of security, collectively and individually, rested in the Theotokos. The Byzantines also looked to Mary as the source of eternal life,⁶⁷ joy⁶⁸ and freedom.⁶⁹ The bright gifts of heaven came to them through the mediation of the Theotokos.

From the Theotokos' blessings to humanity in general Thekla singled out those which relate particularly to her sex. Our hymn-writing nun celebrates the Theotokos as the liberator of women. A major theme of the kanon and important to Thekla's love for the Theotokos, it is introduced in the third strophe of the third ode. The verb λύω which is associated with this theme appears first in this strophe:⁷⁰

Ἐξ Ἀννης ἡ χαρά τοῦ γένους ἡνθησας
καὶ τίκτεϊς, Παρθένε, τὸν βασιλέα
καὶ συγχαίρουσι τῷ τόκῳ σου
αἱ γυναῖκες λυθεῖσαι διὰ σοῦ τῆς ἀρᾶς.

vv. 45-48

Although Mary's birth heralded the advent of joy to the entire

universe, her maternity brought special joy to women. The Theotokos released women from the grief to which they had been condemned ever since their first mother ate the fruit from the forbidden tree. By giving birth to God Mary freed her sisters from the sorrow inherited on account of Eve's disobedience.⁷¹ The present tense of *συγχαίρουσι* surely reflects Thekla's experience of liberation and joy. She rejoices, with other women, in the new paradise opened to them when Christ was born.

This theme of joy restored to women is restated more emphatically in the final strophe of the seventh ode:

Νῦν ἡ φύσις τοῦ θήλεος γέγηθε
 νῦν ἡ λύπη πέπαιται χαρά δέ ἦνθησεν
 ὅτι Μαρία ἔτεκεν
 τήν χαράν τόν σωτήρα καί Κύριον.

vv. 101-104

This strophe may have been composed by Klement and not by Thekla. If this is the case, we may credit him with sympathy and appreciation of women, an attitude which Theodore the Studite shared. In any case, the strophe accorded perfectly with Thekla's vision of woman's new improved status in the Christian dispensation.

In the fifth ode Thekla further expands her icon of the Theotokos as woman's liberator. As in the first passage discussed above,⁷² she begins with a statement of Mary's benefaction to mankind in general, and then turns to its specific application to women:

"Ἐλυσας πικρᾶς δουλείας
 τό γένος ἅπαν, Παρθένε,
 καί ἐλευθερίᾳ Χριστοῦ
 τήν φύσιν τοῦ θήλεος
 ἐτίμησας ἐν τῷ θείῳ τόκῳ σου.

vv. 79-83

When Mary, a daughter of Eve, gave birth to God, she bestowed freedom and honor on her sex. Woman's disgrace was erased forever. The cause of woman's bondage and dishonor, Eve is mentioned twice in passing by Thekla.⁷³ Unlike Byzantium's male hymnographers who could never resist blaming Eve for every ill that besets mankind, Thekla does not heap opprobrium on the first sinner. Instead of dwelling on the time of Eve which had now passed away, Thekla emphasizes the time of Mary, a new era for

women. The Theotokos' *theia doxa* reflected, inevitably, honor on her sex.⁷⁴ A woman, our poet felt herself freed from the primeval shame inherited from Eve. But even more, she felt herself graced with honor because of the Theotokos. We can imagine that Thekla was not alone in appreciating the new condition of women inaugurated by the coming of Christ.

Once liberated from inherited sorrow and shame, women assumed new roles in the broader world outside the domestic domain. Established by Mary's divine son, the *ekklesia* opened new opportunities for activity to women who heretofore had been confined to the home.⁷⁵ With obvious feminine pride and gratitude Thekla acclaims the Theotokos as woman's emancipator:

Ἔτεκεν υἱόν Παρθένος
καί εὐτολμοῦσι γυναῖκες
κατά τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἐμφανῶς
καί ταύτη ἀκολουθοῦσι
νεάνιδες παρθενίαν ἀσκοῦσαι.

vv. 84-88

The virgin mother gave women courage to act and witness publicly for their Christian faith.⁷⁶ Women heroically resisted the "enemy," whether Satan or an emperor. In the century before Thekla Saint Theodosia had demonstrated against an iconoclastic emperor and disobeyed his commands. Already in the annals of Christianity were recorded the martyrdoms of countless women, from the earliest days of persecutions to the most recent. Their history was well known to Thekla. She therefore pays them tribute in her encomium to the Theotokos.

In the third strophe of the seventh ode Thekla returns to the twin themes of woman's emancipation by the Theotokos and women martyrs:

Ἐλευθεροῦται διὰ σου
ἡ προμήτωρ, Θεοτόκε, καταδίκης·
καί ἰδοὺ νῦν γυναῖκες
ὑπεραθλοῦσι Χριστοῦ
καί χαίρει ἡ φύσις τοῦ θήλεος
ὥς ἡ πρωτομάρτυς
βοᾷ παρθένος Θέκλα.

vv. 157-163

These seven verses constitute Thekla's memorial to women's sacrifices for the Church. The Theotokos freed women from Eve's

sentence of guilt. In return women proved with their lives loyalty to their faith.⁷⁷ All four verbs in this strophe are in the present tense, suggesting contemporary events in the empire, where women endured persecution and death in defense of Orthodoxy. The adverb *νῦν* reinforces the present tense and emphasizes Thekla's point.

In Thekla's time women were continuing a tradition of active witness that stretched back to apostolic times when women accompanied the first Christian missionaries. Among these, Saint Thekla has first place of honor. Our hymnographer openly takes pride in her namesake, the virgin martyr whom Paul had converted in Iconium. Risking her life, Thekla followed Paul and shared in his mission of preaching the Gospel.⁷⁸ Widely honored in the Christian East, "The First Martyr among Women and Equal to the Apostles," Saint Thekla was the subject of numerous legends and sermons, the inspiration and model of zealous Christian women.⁷⁹ To be called a "second Thekla" was to win the highest praise. Her cult flourished in Constantinople, where several churches were dedicated to her, including a basilica built by the Emperor Justinian.⁸⁰

Imperial princesses of the ninth century bore her illustrious name. Thekla was the name of the eldest daughter of Theophilos (829-842), the last iconoclastic emperor.⁸¹ And it was the name chosen by our hymnographer when she took the veil and became a nun. Her hymn, along with her choice of a monastic name, testifies to deep personal devotion to Christianity's first woman martyr.

The monastic vocation, the possibility for a new way of life, was also a gift of the Theotokos to women. Venerated by women in the convents of Byzantium, Mary was the model to be imitated:

*καί ταύτη ἀκολουθοῦσι
νεάνιδες παρθενίαν ἀσκοῦσαι.*

vv. 87-88

Long restricted to private life, dominated by fathers, husbands and sons, women found in the convent an alternative that had never existed before.⁸² To serve the *ekklesia* as nuns was to enter a spiritual world. Dedicating themselves completely to God, women had enrolled in the service of the Church. Nor did the monastic ideal of earlier centuries cease to attract women. In Thekla's day thousands of nuns lived in *παρθενῶνες*, both in the capital city and throughout the empire.⁸³

In the final ode of her kanon Thekla the Nun admits us into the

spirituality of the Byzantine convent, revealing its adoration of the Theotokos. Near the end comes the most lyrical strophe of the entire hymn, a panegyric to the Virgin who embodies the nun's ideal.

Λάμπει σου τό κάλλος ἀστράπτει
τῆς ἀγνείας ἡ λαμπρότης, ἀγνή,
καί ὑπερστίλβει τούτων σου ἡ γέννησις·
ὁ Θεός γάρ ὁ ποιητής
ἡλίου καί τῆς κτίσεως
οὗτος ἐκ σοῦ γεγέννηται
δῶ σε πάντες μεγαλύνομεν.

vv. 178-184

As a nun Thekla extols the Theotokos, the epitome of the spiritual woman. Repeated images of dazzling light mark this paean to the virginal beauty and perfection of the Theotokos.

Throughout the kanon Thekla never fails to allude to Mary's paradoxical virginity. A cluster of hallowed titles and epithets occurs again and again to fashion the virginal image of the Mother of God. Nine times she is invoked as Παρθένος.⁸⁴ Ἀγνή, a related title, is equally prominent, especially in the second half of the kanon.⁸⁵ Ἀχραντος, ἀειπάρενος, and ἄφθορος further sustain this attribute of particular relevance for nuns.⁸⁶

The nuns not only hymn the Theotokos, they also pray to her, asking for strength to persist in the discipline of the monastic vocation. A nun's prayer, its invocation continues in the same exalted style of vv. 178-186. The first three verses betray the nuns' fervor, kindled by the immaculate purity of the Theotokos:

Ἄνθος σε ἀγνείας καί ράβδον
παρθενίας καί μητέρα Θεοῦ
θεοπρεπῶς ἐν ὕμνοις ἐκθειάζουσαι

vv. 185-187

The prayer ends with an appeal to their guardian saint for support in their *askesis*:

Θεοτόκε, μετὰ φωνῆς
αἰνέσεως δεόμεθα
ἐν παρθενίᾳ στήριξον
καί ἐν ἀγνείᾳ ἡμᾶς φύλαξον.

vv. 188-191

Thus the "sweet Echo" whom Nikodemos heard ends her encomiastic kanon to the Theotokos.

Probably of aristocratic family, this Byzantine hymnwright of the ninth century was an educated woman, a lady of poise and culture. The competence and grace exhibited in her kanon indicate more than knowledge of the Scriptures and the teachings of the Church. She had been trained in letters and literature. The complex form of the kanon with its fugue-like variations on a central theme demanded not only talent but also literary skills acquired in a classroom.⁸⁷

Thekla was a true Orthodox believer. A devout woman of her times, she cherished and defended Orthodox dogma and traditions. The Incarnation, the foundation of Christian belief, was a reality in her personal religious experience. She insisted on the value and validity of her convictions and experience.

Thekla the Nun valued the ideals and goals of her sacred vocation. The Theotokos was the focus of her monastic life, the main-spring of its spirituality. She honored Mary first as the Mother of God, secondly as the guardian spirit of women monastics, and thirdly as woman's emancipator.

Orthodox believer, hymnodist and nun, Thekla was above all a confident, strong-minded woman. She possessed in good measure self-esteem. She took pride in herself and in her sex. From her hymn emerges a positive image of Eve and her daughters, so long maligned by preachers and church poets in the Christian East and West. Rejecting the shame and guilt traditionally attached to her sex, she claimed for women respect and an honorable place in the Byzantine polity and Church.⁸⁸ Women had established a record that earned them recognition. Thekla salutes nuns and women martyrs, recalling that their history reached back to Christian beginnings, to the glorious deeds and death of her namesake Saint Thekla.

Thekla's joyful kanon reflects her serenity. Secure in her faith, called to be a nun and hymnographer, Thekla accomplished her *diakonia*. The kanon to the Theotokos is her testament to a life spent in harmony with God.

NOTES

1. The *Theotokarion* is a liturgical book containing kanons in the eight tones, composed in honor of the Theotokos and sung during vespers. For a history of this collection see N. B. Tomadakes, "Epimetron A": *Peri tou theotokariou tou Nikodemou*," *Epeteris Hetaireias Byzantinon Spoudon* 32 (1963), pp. 15-25.

2 Quoted from Spyridon Choraites, "Theotokarion" in *He Threskeutike kai Ethike Enkyklopaideia* (Athens, 1965), p 317

3 In most of the brief notices and lists of Byzantine hymnographers, e.g., C. Éméréau, «Hymnographi Byzantini», *Échos d'Orient* 24 (1925), p 176 For relevant bibliography consult Enrica Follieri, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae* V (Vatican City, 1966), p 266, Josef Szovérffy, *A Guide to Byzantine Hymnography: A Classified Bibliography of Texts and Studies II* (Brookline, Mass., and Leyden, 1979), p 44 These two valuable works will henceforth be cited by the authors' names

4 The hymn *De S Theclae* published by Joannes Baptista Pitra, *Analecta Sacra: Spicilegio Solesmensis* 1 (Paris, 1876), pp 636-37, cannot be securely attributed to Thekla

5 Unfortunately a satisfactory text has not yet been established The two texts available to me were Nikodemos Monachos ho Naxios, *Theotokarion: Neon Poikilon kai Horaitaton Oktoechon* (Volos, 1949), pp 34-37, and Sophronios Eustratiades, *Theotokarion A* (Chennevieressur-Marne, 1931), pp 166-68 All references, numbers and citations in this essay are to the latter. These two editions will henceforth be cited by the authors' names For criticism of Eustratiades see E. P. Pantelakes, "Metrikai Paratereseis eis to Neon Theotokarion," *Theologia* 13 (1935), pp 296-322, "Philologikai Paratereseis eis to Neon Theotokarion," *Epeteris Hetaireias Byzantinon Spoudon* 11 (1935), pp 73-104

6 Described by Eustratiades, pp ια ιστ

7 It is generally accepted that Thekla belongs to the ninth century Cf. Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1961), p 444

8 The most famous Byzantine woman hymnodist and the only one whose hymns are used by the Orthodox Church, Kassia is the subject of a model study by Ilse Rochow, *Studien zu der Person, den Werken und dem Nachleben der Dichterin Kassia* (Berlin, 1967)

9 Very little is known about this hymnodist See Sophronios Eustratiades, "Poietai kai Hymnographoi tes Orthodoxou Ekklesias," *Nea Sion* 53 (1958), pp 295-97, Follieri, 5, p 266, Szovérffy, p 48

10 See Hans-Georg Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1977), p 797, Szovérffy, p 75

11 Joannes Baptista Pitra, *Hymnographie de l'Eglise Grecque* (Rome, 1867) Both seemed to have been known to Theodore the Studite

12 Vv 41-45 Joachim also appears in the oldest extant biography of the Theotokos, composed during the iconoclastic era See PG 120 189

13 Vv 49-50

14 Vv 53-60

15 Vv 111-14, 127-30

16 Christ appears almost as frequently as his mother He is identified as *Theos* (12, 25, 36, 40, 56, 71, 74, 76), *Christos* (13, 23, 31, 81, 150, 160), *Logos* (58, 112), *Despotes* (123), *Kyrios* (147), *Ktistes* (71)

17 Vv 37-40, 84-88, 101-04

18 Vv 28-36, 65-69, 89-92, 105-10, 171-77, 185-91 All but two odes (Γ, Ε) contain prayers, doxology and petitions being inseparable elements in liturgical poetry

19 For the function of the liturgical poet see the discussion by E. C. Topping, "The Poet-Priest in Byzantium," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 12 (1966), pp 92-111

20 V 45

21 Of the four Gospels women figure most prominently in Luke See the interesting comments of Constance F. Parvey, "The Theology and Leadership of Women in the New Testament," in *Religion and Sexism*, ed. Rosemary Radford Ruether (New York, 1974), pp 138-42

22 Vv 48, 85, 159, 82, 101, 161

23 Vv 87-88, 187-91

24 I have underway a study of the image of woman in Byzantine hymnography It appears from this study that only the Theotokos was untouched by the guilt and shame

which women inherited from Eve. Not even female saints, martyrs and ascetics were exempt from this legacy.

25. Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* V, ed. J. B. Bury (London, 1901), p. 276.

26. Steven Runciman, "The Empress Irene the Athenian," in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1978), pp. 101-19, redresses the shabby treatment that Irene usually receives.

27. Gibbon, *The History*, p. 253.

28. See Nikodemos Hagioreites, *Synaxaristes* 2 (Athens, 1868), pp. 172-73; Constantine Akropolites, PG 140:893-935; R. Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, Pt. I, vol. 3, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969), pp. 143-45.

29. Rochow, *Studien Kassia*, pp. 20-26.

30. See above the references in n. 9.

31. A good account of this elaborate poetical form is to be found in Wellesz, *A History*, pp. 198-239.

32. Women composers in Byzantium are even fewer than women hymnodists. Besides Kassia one other is known. See Milos Velimirovic, "Byzantine Composers in MS Athens 2406," in *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz*, ed. Jack Westrup (Oxford, 1960), pp. 12, 16.

33. The only rare heirmos is that of Ode E for which Follieri, 5, p. 41 cites only this occurrence.

34. A troparion so called because the congregation sat while it was being sung. In Thekla's kanon it follows the sixth ode.

35. The identity of Klement and the relationship of his strophes to Thekla's kanon present thorny problems that have not yet been satisfactorily solved. See S. Pétridès, «Office inédit de Saint Clément, hymnographe,» *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 12 (1903), pp. 571-81, W. Weyh, "Die Acrostichis in der byzantinische Kanonesdichtung," *ibid.* 17 (1908), pp. 51-53; Sophronios Eustratiades, "Poietai kai Hymnographoi tes Orthodoxou Ekklesias," *Nea Sion* 53 (1958), p. 293. For additional bibliography see Szovérffy, p. 36.

36. P. 166. See Follieri, 1, p. 347, 1. 28.

37. P. 34. See the discussion of W. Weyh, *Die Acrostichis*, pp. 52-53.

38. Rochow, *Studien Kassia*, pp. 37-38.

39. See vv. 30, 32, 64, 70, 75, 99, 116, 124, 184, 189. Characteristic of hymns composed during the iconoclastic controversy, *ekkleisia* appears in vv. 4, 67, 151. The fourth ode ends with a prayer to the Theotokos that she safeguard the church's orthodoxy.

40. Considered the first encomiast of the Theotokos, Gabriel is twice mentioned: vv. 7, 90. Every hymn to the Theotokos has as its prototype the angelic salutation of Luke 1.28.

41. Vv. 28-36, 65-68, 89-92.

42. Nikodemos' reading γυνώσκοντες is perhaps to be preferred.

43. Kontakion 16 On the Entry into Jerusalem, Paul Maas and C. A. Trypanis, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica Cantica Genuina* (Oxford, 1963), p. 122. Cf. E. C. Topping, "Romanos, On the Entry into Jerusalem: A Basilikos Logos," *Byzantion* 47 (1977), pp. 84-85.

44. See Follieri, 1, p. 558, 1. 25.

45. For a sympathetic account of Marian piety, the intimacy existing between the suppliant and the Mother of God, see Theodoros Xydes, *Byzantine Hymnographia* (Athens, 1978), pp. 297-305.

46. V. 187.

47. Vv. 68, 107, 176.

48. For the texts and introductions of the two hymns see C. C. Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica* (Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, Band 5) (Vienna, 1968), pp. 17-27, 159-64. For a typical sermon read Proclus, PG 65: 721-57.

49. Vv. 6-8; Repeated in vv. 90, 99-100.

50. This episode, referred to in vv. 41-45, is based on the infancy gospel in the apocryphal Protevangelium of James. See the translation by Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 39-40. Celebrated on September 8, the Nativity of the Theotokos was established in the liturgical calendar of the Eastern Church in the sixth century.

51. Vv. 47, 50, 128, 151; 23, 46, 84, 103, 135, 183. References to Mary's womb occur in vv. 52, 61, 118, 126, 134, 142.

52. Vv. 39, 73, 75, 144, 151, 158, 188. According to John Damascene this title contained the whole history of the divine economy in the world, PG 94:1029.

53. Vv. 12, 66, 106, 121, 167, 186; 31.

54. Vv. 49-50; 53-60; 111-115, 127-130.

55. The rules of the encomium required the encomiast to claim superiority for his subject. Cf. Toivo Viljamaa, *Studies in Greek Encomiastic Poetry of the Early Byzantine Period* (Helsinki-Helsingfors, 1968), pp. 114-116.

56. V. 78. Cf. Joseph Ledit, *Marie dans la liturgie de Byzance* (Paris, 1976), p. 41.

57. Quoted above on p.

58. V. 14. A much used metaphor for the Theotokos. Cf. Follieri, 1, p. 252, 11. 3-6.

59. V. 74. Cf. Ledit, *Marie*, pp. 86, 106, 161.

60. V. 143. Cf. Ledit, *Marie*, pp. 48, 96, 277.

61. Vv. 10-11. Cf. Ledit, *Marie*, pp. 82-84, 106.

62. Vv. 39; 4, 128.

63. Vv. 144, 172. A title reserved exclusively for the Theotokos. Cf. Ledit, *Marie*, pp. 41-42, especially n. 75.

64. Vv. 12, 41, 59, 61, 73; 197; 16; 94. For Mary the Bride of God see Ledit, *Marie*, pp. 180-193.

65. Reconciliation is the theme of two strophes, vv. 37-40, 119-26.

66. Cf. Ledit, *Marie*, pp. 286-90.

67. Ζωή forms an important motif in Thekla's kanon: vv. 11, 17, 41, 63, 146, 149.

68. A recurrent theme in Marian hymns and particularly associated with the Nativity of the Theotokos and the Feast of the Annunciation, joy constitutes a major statement in our kanon also: vv. 42, 44, 45, 47, 89, 91, 101, 102, 104, 143, 161.

69. Vv. 79-81, 157-58.

70. Cf. Follieri, 2, pp. 351, 1. 28, 359, 1. 8.

71. In Byzantine hymnody the words δάκρυα, λύπη, and ἀρά are so constantly connected with the name of Eve as to become formulas.

72. See above p. 357.

73. Vv. 38, 158.

74. Thekla speaks of Mary's "divine glory" in v. 94.

75. See the discussion by Jean Daniélou, S. J., *The Ministry of Women in the Early Church* (London, 1961).

76. To describe woman's daring, Thekla chose a rare word, εὐτολμέω, which does not occur in patristic writings. The adjective is used, however, in a hymn in honor of an early woman martyr, Saint Epicharis. Cf. Follieri, 1, 599, 1.14.

77. Suggested by the strong verb ὑπεραλλέω. G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1968), s.v., cites four passages in which it appears.

78. Her trials and career are recounted in the apocryphal *Acta Pauli et Theclae* written at the end of the second century. See the translation by M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 272-81.

79. A typical sermon is that of Basil of Seleukia, PG 85:447A-617 D.

80 R Janin, *La Geographie*, pp 141-43

81 The eldest child, she appeared on coins with her imperial parents, Theophilus and Theodora See Philip Grierson, ed , *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* 3, Pt 1 (Washington, D C , 1973), p 428 Special devotion to her saintly namesake is indicated by the fact that she built and dedicated a chapel to Thekla Cf Janin, *La Geographie*, p 141

82 See the account of the virginal woman as a new cultural ideal by Rosemary Radford Ruether, "Misogynism and Virginal Feminism in the Fathers of the Church," in *Religion and Sexism* (New York, 1974), pp 150-83

83 A word often used of convents, current in the ninth century, e g , Theodore the Studite, PG 99 1549 B

84 One of Mary's most significant titles vv 46, 50, 54, 62, 80, 84, 115, 167, 171 Cf Ledit, *Marie*, pp 167-79

85 Vv 18, 52, 118, 126, 134, 142, 164, 179, 193

86 Vv 21, 132, 89, 98, 115

87 For the state of education in Thekla's time see the study of Ann Moffatt, "Schooling in the Iconoclast Centuries," in *Iconoclasm*, eds Anthony Bryer and Judith Herrin (Birmingham, 1977), pp 85-92

88 Jose Grosdidier de Matons, «La Femme dans l'empire byzantin,» in *Histoire mondiale de la femme*, ed Pierre Grimal (Paris, 1967), pp 11-42, discusses various aspects of woman's condition in Byzantium

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TOLSTOI'S GOSPEL AS A POLEMIC WITH SCIENTISTS, POLITICIANS, AND CHURCHMEN

Among the many targets of Lev Tolstoi's wrath and ridicule, three of the most prominent are the scientists, politicians, and churchmen of his day. Members of the first group, whether professional pedagogues, sociologists, aestheticians, or natural scientists, are frequently exposed and derided, especially in Tolstoi's later writings. In a diary entry for 25 July 1889, he gives a contemporary interpretation of Mk. 10.31: "The last shall be first — that remains to be seen. But that the first scientists of our age shall be last — that is for certain."¹ The second villainous group — statesmen, politicians, bureaucrats, and all advocates and protectors of the state — are subjected to still harsher treatment, for the institutions they embody and uphold are found to be irreconcilably opposed to that highly subjective 'truth' which the narrator of the Sebastopol sketches declares to be his hero. The history of Tolstoi's growing antipathy toward the state is marked by a number of dramatic occurrences in his biography and documented in the polemical works of his later period. The public execution he witnessed in Paris in 1857, his disillusioning experience as an Arbiter of the Peace in 1861, and the police search of Iasnaia Poliana in 1862 all tended to fortify his suspicion that the state and all those who labor in its service are inherently iniquitous and corrupt. Yet even they must yield to a third, more invidious category: the Christian hierarchy and the institution of the church. Though Tolstoi's attitude toward them is not consistently hostile, one finds that, beginning in the 1870s, his indifferent acceptance gradually develops into a profound contempt that reaches its climax in the blasphemous chapters on the Eucharist in *Resurrection*.

The first direct expression of hostility toward these three groups is found in the major post-conversion religious tracts of the early 1880s. In the *Confession* (1879-1880), for example, empirical science is dismissed as irrelevant to the critical issues of life while the church is condemned as the partner of the state in organized and legitimized violence. Despite the blandness of its title, *An In-*

vestigation of Dogmatic Theology (1880) turns out to be a vitriolic polemic with the learned churchmen who, in Tolstoi's view, have placed the prestige of Christ at the disposition of the state. In the third and most important treatise of this period – *Union and Translation of the Four Gospels* (1880-1881) – Tolstoi's attitude toward the political and religious institutions of his time is presented more cogently and argued more elaborately than in any of his other writings. For, as this article will attempt to show, his revisionistic translation of the scriptures represents not so much a sincere attempt to ascertain truth by "going to the sources" as a determined effort to find in the words of Christ complete and unqualified support for his own religious views, especially as those views pertain to science, state, and church.

This tendency is particularly clear in the harmonized translation of Mt. 16.6-7, 11-12 (combined with Mk. 8.15) and Lk. 12.1-2. Here the disparate passages concerning the yeasts of the Sadducees, the Herodians, and the Pharisees are combined into one so that the three might appear closely interrelated. Then, before expounding his principal arguments against them, Tolstoi insists on a literal interpretation of the word *yeast*. Discarding the conventional view that the term refers to the respective *teachings* of the three, he argues that Christ would have used the word *teaching* if that is what he had meant.² Rather, the word *yeast* is used deliberately because it represents a substance which blends with another substance and transforms it. The three transforming substances in this case are clearly labeled: the yeast of the Sadducees is "scientific materialism"; that of the Herodians is the "dogma of the state and of the legal system" (*uchenie gosudarstvennosti, iurisprudentii*); and finally, the yeast of the Pharisees is the "yeast of the church" (*zakvaska tserkovnosti*, p. 629). The translation of Mt. 23. 8-10, which Tolstoi places shortly after the passage of the yeasts, seems to confirm his point of view. His version of Verse 8 ("Do not call yourselves teachers") is meant as a strict admonition against scientists. In Verse 9 ("Call no one on earth father") he uses the word *batiushka* for 'father,' a term often applied to Russian Orthodox priests. The translation of Verse 10 combines the two targets of church and state: "And do not call yourselves leaders or teachers because Christ is your only leader [*vozhd'*] and shepherd [*pastyr'*]." The Russian word *vozhd'* is normally reserved for secular leaders or heads of state while the word *pastyr'*, which Tolstoi ordinarily avoids because of its ecclesiastical connotations,

is here used apparently to refute the notion that someone other than Christ can be a spiritual shepherd or pastor. Yet the Greek text does not even mention a shepherd. Apparently, the translator has made this unwarranted addition in order to buttress his contention that the Herodians (the state) and the Pharisees (the church) have always been and will always remain close collaborators in an evil alliance.

The three yeasts make more than one appearance in the *Union and Translation of the Four Gospels*. They are found under various guises in numerous passages, and Tolstoi never fails to condemn and revile them. A survey of the passages he cites, the arguments he adduces, and the polemical techniques he employs will elucidate his attitude toward science, state, and church as it evolved from and found support in his interpretation of the gospels.

Of the three yeasts, that of the Sadducees receives the least attention. They and their modern counterparts represent not the church and state themselves — the principal targets — but the intellectual foundation on which they rest. It is their rationalizations that lend credence and respectability to the very institutions which Christ, in Tolstoi's view, meant to abolish. And it is their intimacy with those institutions which makes them equally liable to condemnation. Little wonder then that they appear in Tolstoi's translation of Mt. 27.1. Joined by their traditional associates — the elders of the people and the high priests — they seek a way to dispose of Jesus, their mortal enemy. But here as in other passages the Sadducees or "learned men" (*uchenye*) are found only in Tolstoi's version; they are absent from the Greek text. This arbitrary insertion only serves to emphasize the translator's belief that the three groups condemned in the passage of the yeasts are the same three most directly responsible for the death of Christ.

The second group, the Herodians, are more soundly chastized, for they are the defenders of a strong centralized state. Tolstoi's antipathy toward them is based in large part on his conviction that the state in its essence is a monstrous violation of the Sermon on the Mount. As the longest didactic passage in the gospels, the Sermon is treated as the focus of Christ's teaching, the gist of which, Tolstoi claims, can be reduced to the following five rules: 1) do not get angry; 2) do not fornicate; 3) do not take oaths; 4) do not resist evil with evil; and 5) make no distinctions among nations, recognizing neither kings nor kingdoms (p. 282). Assuming that these five commands accurately summarize the Sermon, Tolstoi

uses them as absolute criteria in his judgment and condemnation of the state. While the first two apply primarily to personal relationships and thus to the fundamental fabric of society, the latter three have a direct bearing on the function of the state and are therefore of greater importance to this study. The third rule, for example, goes to the very heart of secular authority, for without oaths, Tolstoi believed, the armed forces, the civil service, the legal system, and many other extensions of state power are undermined and even invalidated. He is, of course, well aware of the consequences of his insistence on a literal and unconditional interpretation of the rules that he himself has extracted from the Sermon on the Mount. He knows that a strict application of the fourth rule will promote fraternal human relations, which in turn will eliminate both the *raison d'être* of the state and its mode of conduct.³ According to Tolstoi, the state will no longer be able to justify its existence with the assertion that it maintains public order, for the disorders it claims to prevent will have ended with the desiccation of their source. Furthermore, its practice of using violence or the threat of violence for coercive purposes will have been exposed as contradictory to both the spirit and the letter of Christ's teaching. Applied on an international level, this fourth rule leads logically to the fifth: international boundaries should vanish as well as the governments that maintain them. Tolstoi's Christian cosmopolitanism is based on his interpretation of the word *echthros* ("enemy"), which he claims is used in Matthew's gospel in the sense of an enemy of the state, an enemy in war, an enemy belonging to another country. Thus, when Christ says, "Agapate tous echthrous hymōn" ("Love your enemies," Mt. 5.44), he does not mean merely one's personal foes, but the armed antagonists of one's government (p. 253). This view is strengthened by his reading of Mt. 5.45 ("Hopōs genēsthe huioi tou patros hymōn tou en ouranois," "That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven"), which becomes "So that you might become equal sons of your Father in heaven" (p. 247). Referring to "many copies" which contain the word *homoioi* ("equal") before *huioi* ("sons"), he confidently asserts that this turn of phrase immediately following the commandment of love makes it quite clear that Christ's injunction is meant to apply to *all* human relations, both personal and international.

Tolstoi arrives at his unconventional and sometimes outrageous interpretations of scripture through a curious amalgam of consci-

entious scholarship, eclectic reading, and linguistic manipulation. The disparate elements of his technique are especially evident in those passages of the *Union* that seek to denigrate the authority of state and church. A good example of his use of language as a polemical implement can be found in his translation of Mt. 7.22. On the left-hand side is the King James version of this passage; on the right is Tolstoi's:

Lord, Lord, have we not
prophesied in thy name?
and in thy name have
cast out devils? and
in thy name done many
wonderful works?

Lord, Lord, did we not
teach, did we not cast
out evil for you and was
it not for you that we
established authority
[*dynameis pollas*]?

It should be noted that the "many works" or "many miracles" found in traditional versions have yielded to "authority" or "government" (*vlast*) in the revised Tolstoian text. This wording forms a convenient bridge to the following verse, in which Christ responds to the question above: "I never knew you. Out of my sight, you evildoers!" Simply stated then, those who have established secular authority over other men, and especially those who have done so in Christ's name, are irreconcilably opposed to his teaching.

The crucial word in this passage is *dynameis* ("powers"), which Tolstoi translates literally with Russian *vlast*'. The choice of *vlast*' is a felicitous one from his point of view, for it contains both the notion of power and the idea of secular rule. (Cf. such modern expressions as *vsia vlast' sovetam*, "All power to the Soviets," and *sovetskaia vlast'*, "Soviet rule.") Tolstoi makes full use of this ambiguity and scores an apparent victory over church translators. But his victory is Pyrrhic because his methodology is fraught with dubious practices and gross inconsistencies. In the first place, he offers no explanation of the plural form *dynameis pollas*, claiming only that the singular *dynamis* is the equivalent of Russian *vlast'*. Secondly, no mention whatsoever is made of the fact that in other contexts he translates *dynamis* as "power of God" (*sila Bozh'ia*) or some other similar expression. And finally, he casually dismisses a centuries-old interpretation of *dynamis* as "miracle" because he refuses to accept the supernatural element in the gospels. The finished product of his subjective approach is therefore a triumphant and indisputable demonstration of Christ's hostility toward the state and his disdain for those who serve it.

Tolstoi's use of learned scholia and linguistic legerdemain extends to individual words and phrases pertaining to kings, kingdoms, courts, and civil officials. Thus, in Mk. 1.1., the word *Christos* ("Christ"), despite its association with the divine nature, wins out over its literal Russian equivalent *pomazannik* ("anointed one") presumably because the latter word was also commonly applied to the tsar (p. 21). Similarly, the "kingdom" (*basileia*) divided against itself in M.k. 3.24 is transformed into a *force* (*sila*, p. 300). In a harmonized version of the parable of the talents, the protagonist goes off to a distant land not to inherit a kingdom but to "receive an inheritance"; he gives not talents to his servants, but *grivny*, a considerable reduction; and in Lk. 19.14 the citizens (*politai*) who complain of their new ruler are now simply *countrymen* (p. 320). There is no indication in the new version that this is a story about a wealthy man who has become a king. This same tendency to avoid all neutral references to secular authority in Christ's teaching is observed again in Lk. 22.26 ("kai ho hēgoumenos, hōs ho diakonōn," "and he that is chief, as he that doth serve"). Side-stepping the embarrassing *ho hēgoumenos*, Tolstoi produces the following translation: "He who is like a servant is ahead of all others" (p. 515).

Even as positions of leadership are abolished in Tolstoi's ethical worldview, so, too, are the ancillary offices of those charged with the execution of the ruler's commands. This is the category to which the courts and the very principle of jurisprudence are assigned. Again, the chief evidence against them is found in the use of certain Greek words which, according to Tolstoi, have been grossly misinterpreted by the church. Among these words are the verbs *katadikazō* and *katakrinō*, both of which are normally rendered in Russian by the verb *osuzhdat'*, "to condemn." In several key passages, however, Tolstoi pointedly chooses the verb *prisuzhdat'* or *prisuzhivat'* because the change in prefix from *o-* to *pri-* signals a semantic shift from the general act of condemnation to the specific judicial act of judging and sentencing. It follows then that when Christ says in Lk. 6.37, "Judge not, and ye shall not be judged," he is referring to lawsuits and other legal proceedings, not to gossip or personal criticisms. Tolstoi insists on this point, adding his own critique of the church in a note appended to his translation of this passage: "To claim that in a sermon in which he presents the essence of his teaching to tramps Jesus says that tramps must not be gossipy would seem like a crazy joke if we were not

so accustomed to the blasphemous interpretation of the church” (p. 238). In a similar vein he excoriates traditional translations and interpretations of the story of the woman caught in adultery (Jn. 8.3-11). In his version the words of Christ – “oude egō se katakrinō,” “Neither do I condemn thee”) – are translated “i ia ne prisuzhdaiu tebia,” i.e., “Neither do I sentence you.” Christ is thus refusing to give sanction to any criminal action taken against the woman. That the church has commonly viewed the story from a more personal and mundane vantage point elicits one of the translator’s most vehement outbursts of sarcasm: “The meaning [of the story] – why it just means that you shouldn’t condemn your neighbor in conversation; you shouldn’t say of M.I. that she has lovers. But hanging people and cutting their heads off – that you can do. The story is not about that at all” (p. 603). Tolstoi adds insult to injury by even suggesting that the beasts mentioned in Mt. 7.6 (“Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine”) should be identified with the judges both of Christ’s time and of his own (p. 241).

Nowhere, however, is the parallel between government institutions of early Christian times and the bureaucratic apparatus of nineteenth-century Russia so striking and audacious as in Tolstoi’s translation of the noun *telōnēs* (“tax collector”). Ignoring the usual Russian equivalent *mytar*, he chooses the more immediately intelligible but highly suggestive word *otkupshchik*, the designation for a tax farmer, especially the notorious vodka tax farmer, who flourished in Russia before the introduction of the excise tax in 1863. Yet nothing is said about the unsavory connotation of the word. Tolstoi lets the reader draw his own conclusions. He knows that even without an explicit comparison the evil reputation of the vodka tax farmer and the negative context in which the *telōnai* generally appear in the New Testament considerably reinforce the notion that both groups of people are reprehensible in the sight of God.

As if eager to include all employees of the state in a general indictment, Tolstoi makes a significant emendation in Mt. 20.25, a verse in which Christ warns his disciples not to seek domination over others and to avoid the ambitions of *hoi megaloi* (“great ones,” “potentates,” “grandees”). According to Tolstoi, the *megaloi* should be construed as nothing more than “civil servants” (*chinovniki*) who “lord it over the people” (p. 515). Once again, as was the case with *otkupshchik*, nothing is said about the peculiar

nuance of the word *chinovnik* — a bureaucrat, a cog in the gigantic Russian civil service. Yet the implication is clear; both the *chinovniki* and the “great ones” of old are reprobates; indeed, everyone entangled in the snares of the state — kings, magistrates, officials — is forever inimical to Christ and his teachings.

Yet Tolstoi concedes that even the most idealistic man must make some sort of accommodation with civil institutions that have existed for thousands of years and will in all probability continue to exist. What then should that man’s relationship be to the state? As for many others perplexed by that question, the answer for Tolstoi is found in Mt. 22.21: “Apodote oun ta kaisaros kaisari, kai ta tou theou tō theō” (“Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar’s; and unto God the things that are God’s”). His translation is nearly literal: “Otdaite nazad kesariu kesarevo, a Bogu otdaite Bozhie” (“Give back to Caesar Caesar’s things and to God give back God’s things,” p. 597). This stands in opposition to the church’s translation: “Otdavaite kesarevo kesariu, a Bozhie Bogu.” The difference between the two lies in the interpretation of the aorist imperative form *apodote*. The church uses the Russian imperfective imperative, which implies repeated action. Rendering or giving back is therefore seen as a continual process. Tolstoi, however, chooses the perfective aspect, which, by contrast, designates a completed action normally performed only once. This nuance is underscored in an explanatory note: “To give back to Caesar what is his means to settle accounts with him, not to have anything to do with him, to take nothing from him. To give God’s things back to God means to give back to God understanding, which he has given to man” (p. 599).⁴

The last and most dangerous of the three yeasts is the yeast of the Pharisees. In Lk. 12.1 Christ warns against this group: “Prosechete heautois hypo tēs zōmēs tōn Pharisaiōn, hētis estin hypokrisis” (“Beware ye of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy”). Taking this verse as his cue, Tolstoi boldly modifies it by translating *hypokrisis* not as “hypocrisy,” but as “deception” (*obman*). *Hypocrisy* implies that the Pharisees are merely delinquent in their observance of God’s law. The deception of which Tolstoi accuses them indicates that there is nothing about them, either in their beliefs or in their practices, that is worthy of emulation. Indeed, they are the living antithesis of Christ.

The first step in Tolstoi’s carefully presented argument against the yeast of the Pharisees is his attempt to prove that Christ utter-

ly rejected the Judaism of his time – the Law, the prophets and teachers, the temple, and the religious traditions and practices of the Jewish people. As proof of Jesus' sense of alienation from the faith of his people, Tolstoi cites Jn. 15.25, which he translates thus: "And the word written in their law came true: they have hated me in vain" (p. 738). The key word in the passage is *autōn* ("their"), for according to the translator it betokens nonacceptance of the Mosaic Law. In his eagerness to debunk Hebraic tradition, however, Tolstoi overextends his reach in his interpretation of Mt. 5.18: "iōta hen ē mia keraia ou mē parelthē apo tou nomou, heōs an panta genētai" ("One jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled"). Insisting that the law in question is the moral law and not the Mosaic Law (the two are irreconcilable in his writings), he combines the obviously troublesome *iōta* and *keraia* under the Russian word *cherta*, which he perceives to be the demarcation line between good and evil. Then he adds: "If it were a question of the written law of Moses, it would read 'not one verse' or 'not one word' or 'not one letter'" (p. 216). Since Tolstoi did not learn Hebrew until 1882, he apparently did not know that the words *iōta* and *keraia* refer to diacritical marks in Hebrew writing and that as such they lend support to the very view he rejects, viz., that the law mentioned in this passage is indeed the Mosaic Law.

If there is any remaining question concerning the validity of the Law, Tolstoi indirectly answers it by assailing the character of every Jewish prophet and teacher from Moses to the Pharisees of Jesus' day. The words of Jn. 10.8 are grist for his mill: "hosoi promou ēlthon, kleptai eisi kai lēstai" ("All that ever came before me are thieves and robbers"). In Tolstoi's view this can only mean that all Jesus' predecessors were false teachers and that their legacy is therefore marred by error. The inheritors of that legacy are regarded as the perpetuators of ancient fallacies. This attitude is reflected in Tolstoi's treatment of Jn. 3.10, when Jesus, having told Nicodemus that everyone must be begotten from above, asks, "Sy ei didaskalos tou Israēl, kai tauta ou ginōskeis?" ("Art thou a master of Israel, and knowest not these things?"). In Tolstoi's version the question becomes a statement: "You are a teacher of Israel and it is this very thing you do not understand" (p. 162). Nicodemus *cannot* grasp the word of God precisely because the nature of his position in Jewish society excludes that very possibility.

Having discredited the Jewish faith and traduced its teachers,

Tolstoi next proceeds to demonstrate that what is true of the Pharisees is also true of the Orthodox Christians of his day. In support of his thesis he blithely asserts that the leaders of Judaism in Christ's time were "the pastors of the Mosaic church" (p. 679). Time after time the word *Pharisaïos* is translated as *pravoslavnyi* ("Orthodox"). The "chief priests," "scribes," and "elders of the people" in Mt. 26.3 are modernized and transformed into "archbishops," "bookmen" (*nachetchiki*), and "presbyters of the people" (p. 680). The Pharisees in Mt. 23.5 suddenly don rosaries and let out the hems of their cassocks, presumably in the manner of the Orthodox clergy (p. 632). In the following verse they prefer not the "chief seats in the synagogues," but "elevated chairs in churches" (p. 632). The greetings in market places mentioned in Verse 7 become the public kissing of hands (p. 632).⁵ In Verse 29 the scribes and Pharisees are condemned not for building tombs for the prophets and decorating the monuments of the just, but for "building churches to the prophets and embellishing the relics of the martyrs" (p. 636).

In his insistent pursuit of parallels, Tolstoi attacks the most honored institutions, traditions, and practices of Judaism and Christianity. Thus, Jesus' remarks concerning the observance of the sabbath (Mk. 2.27) are distorted to show that the sabbath was established not by God, but by man (p. 142), being little more than a "trifling matter, a human fabrication" (p. 106). Likewise, the principle of public worship in both religions is sharply criticized in Tolstoi's translation of Mt. 12.6-7: "I tell you that more important than the temple is your need to understand the meaning of: I want mercy toward men not church services" (pp. 119-20). Specifically, the episode in Jn. 2.16, where Jesus seems to emphasize the sanctity of the temple by driving out the money-changers, is transformed into a wrathful outburst against the very notion of collective, ritualized worship. Again, this revised interpretation is the result of Tolstoi's very original syntactical and hermeneutical analyses. The Greek text ("Arate tauta enteuthen; mē poieite ton oikon tou patros mou oikon emporiou," "Take these things hence; make not my Father's house a house of merchandise") emerges in a new light: "Take this out of here and do not suppose that a bazaar can be my father's house" (p. 117). The translation is certainly questionable, but its point is of paramount importance: Tolstoi is convinced that Christ wished to brand all temples and, by implication, all churches as affronts to God. This is further

emphasized by his inventive rendering of Mt. 24.2 – a question concerning the temple (“ou blepete panta tauta?” “See ye not all these things?”), which becomes a stern prohibition (“Do not look at all this,” p. 648).

An analogous change in punctuation in a revised translation of Mt. 17.24 leads to the inescapable conclusion that Christ neither participated in public worship nor paid toward the maintenance of the temple. Tolstoi merely takes the question which the tax collectors ask of Peter (“ho didaskalos hymōn ou telei ta didrachma?” “Doth not your master pay tribute?”) and turns it into a statement: “Your teacher does not pay the temple tax” (p. 591). In a note he justifies this maneuver with one of the greatest linguistic non sequiturs in the *Union*: since the verb is in the present tense, the utterance is not a question but a statement. Yet however much one may quibble with the change, it admirably prepares the reader for Peter’s affirmative reply in Verse 25. His “yes” (*nai*) – i.e., yes, he does not pay it – confirms Tolstoi’s belief that Jesus was the sworn enemy of temples and churches.

To complete the parallel between ancient Judaism and modern organized Christianity, Tolstoi equates the penalties inflicted on heretics and apostates by both faiths. In a note to Jn. 9.35, he remarks that the blind man whom Christ heals had been “excommunicated from the church” (p. 474). Identical anachronistic terminology is found in his translation of Jn. 12.42: “Along with the leaders, however, many came to believe in his teaching, but they did not admit it because of the pastors [i.e., the Pharisees] lest they be excommunicated from the church” (p. 678).

The day-to-day practices of Judaism and Christianity are also dismissed. Prayer is repeatedly branded with the word *polylogia* (“much speaking” or “verbosity”), a word Christ uses in Mt. 6.7 in his denunciation of hypocrisy. All prayer in a formal sense is treated as a senseless repetition of worn words contrary to the *logos* or rational principle. Likewise, the practice of fasting on certain days or during certain periods of the year is brushed aside contemptuously. Tolstoi’s Christ not only ignores ancient traditions but seems to go out of his way to flout them. Thus, to Mk. 7.2, in which the Pharisees see Christ’s disciples eating bread with unwashed hands, Tolstoi adds a phrase indicating that their master, too, had failed to purify himself (p. 114). Christ is consistently depicted as a rebel rising up against the organized, formal religion of his day.

The Christianity which Tolstoi vilifies both directly and obliquely is not the teaching of Christ as he perceived it, but the interpretation put upon it by churchmen and theologians in the course of centuries. For him, therefore, there is a true and a false Christianity. The false variety results from attempts to identify Jesus as the perfect fulfilment of Jewish tradition and the Mosaic Law. Time and again Tolstoi insists, often in audacious and provocative terms, that there is no relationship whatsoever between Christianity and Judaism — except an implicitly hostile one.⁶ At one point he refers to the “godless teaching of the Mosaic books” (p. 641), and at another he asserts: “It is obvious that combining the teaching of Christ and the teaching of Moses is the same as combining fire and water” (p. 642). He even claims that Christ is closer to paganism than to Judaism as he imposes the following words upon him: “I know that the people will hate me because I make no distinction between the Jews and the pagans and because I recognize myself to be just like a pagan” (p. 710).

Tolstoi's views on false Christianity are in no way disturbed by Mt. 5.17 (“*Mē nomisēte, hoti ēlthon katalysai ton nomon ē tous prophētas; ouk ēlthon katalysai, alla plērōsai*, “Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill,” p. 211.) The crucial words in the Greek text are *ton nomon* (“the law”). Tolstoi asserts that whenever the definite article is used with *nomos* in the New Testament, the author intends the meaning “God's law.” Without the article, the argument goes, *nomos* refers to the Mosaic Law.⁷ Therefore, it is the eternal, moral law which Jesus teaches us to fulfill. The verse from Matthew has nothing to do with Jewish religious practices.

If false Christianity is Messianic Judaism further burdened by centuries-old superstition and obscurantism, what then is true Christianity? What, in other words, is the antithesis of the yeast of the Pharisees? In essence it is a religion of response — a sincere and simple response to the promptings of the *logos*, the absolute rational principle inherent in all men. The aim of true Christianity is the unification of mankind into a loving family, a goal attainable through a general assent to the urgings of an unconditional Reason.⁸ Since that is the goal and since, as Tolstoi believes, its realization has been thwarted by the concept of the church, that concept is labeled as perilously divisive and therefore antithetical to the real meaning of Christ's teaching. The church is the principal miscreant of the *Union and Translation of the Four Gospels*. Tol-

stoi's translation of the Greek noun *ekklēsia* ("church," "assembly," "community") as "assembly of people" (*sobranie liudei*, p. 491) simultaneously undermines an institution sacred to millions of believers and supports his own contention that the "church" founded by Christ is nothing more or less than a gathering of men impelled by reason to unite in fraternal charity.⁹

NOTES

1. L.N. Tolstoi, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, ed. V.G. Chertkov et al., 90 vols. (Moscow: GIKhL, 1928-58), L, 113. All subsequent references to Tolstoi pertain to this edition.

2. Tolstoi, XXIV, 628. All further page references to this volume will be given parenthetically in the text. All translations are mine. Tolstoi's argument is a curious one in view of the fact that in many cases he eschews literal translations in favor of freer and sometimes highly subjective versions. In Mt. 6.16, for example, the verb *nēsteuō* ("to fast") is translated as *to deprive oneself of something*, presumably because he does not want to give the impression that Christ is sanctioning the practice of fasting. Yet a literalist would be forced to choose the verb *to fast* since *nēsteuō* literally means "not to eat."

3. In a recent study the rule concerning non-violent resistance to evil is called "an aristocrat's doctrine of resistance to the state." Thus, the conflict is reduced to an essentially social struggle. See Edward Baker Greenwood, *Tolstoy: The Comprehensive Vision* (London, 1975), p. 150.

4. Tolstoi did not agree with his younger contemporary, Vladimir Solov'ev, who claimed that Christian rulers, by virtue of their religious beliefs, are not subject to such hostility. See *Kritika otvlechennykh nachal*, in *Sobranie sochinenii*, ed. S.M. Solov'ev and E.L. Radlov, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1911; rpt. Brussels: Foyer oriental chrétien, 1966), 2, 164.

5. Before the Revolution, Russian peasants commonly kissed the hands of their priests as a sign of piety and respect.

6. It is interesting that Goethe, whom Tolstoi generally disliked, was of the same opinion. See *Werke*, eds. Werner Weber and Hans Joachim Schrimpf, 5th ed., 14 vols. (Hamburg, 1963), 12, 377.

7. This view, though generally rejected today, was current in Tolstoi's time. See George Benedict Winer, *A Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament*, ed. Gottlieb Lünemann, 7th ed. (Andover, 1877), p. 123; Friedrich Blass, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen, 1896), p. 147; A.T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (New York, 1914), p. 796.

8. Ossip Loulié makes the interesting observation that Tolstoi's emphasis on universalism rather than on the interests of the individual brings his religion much closer to Judaism than to Christianity—all assertions to the contrary notwithstanding. This is what he writes: "On voit que le christianisme de Tolstoi n'est que nominal; sa religion est plu proche de judaïsme que du christianisme Toute la doctrine religieuse de Tolstoi aboutit à cette conclusion que l'homme ne peut être heureux et vivre conformément à sa nature que s'il ne vit pas pour lui seul, de sa vie personnelle, mais de la vie de l'humanité entière. C'est là le principe même de la loi mosaïque qui oppose à la vie personnelle, non pas la vie d'outre-tombe, comme le fait le christianisme, mais la vie commune qui se fond avec la vie présent, passée et future de l'humanité." *La Philosophie de Tolstoi* (Paris, 1899), pp. 102-103.

9. Though unconventional, Tolstoi's translation is not at all farfetched. See Gerhard Kittel, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, trans. and ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, 9 vols. (Grand Rapids, 1964-74), 3, 514; Walter Bauer, comp., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, 4th ed. (Chicago, 1957), p. 240; C. L. Wilibald Grimm, comp., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, trans. Joseph Henry Thayer (New York, 1889), pp. 195-96; Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, comps., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. Henry Stuart Jones (Oxford, 1940), p. 509.

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STEVEN BOWMAN

TWO LATE BYZANTINE DIALOGUES WITH THE JEWS

The Christian literary tradition of dialogue with and polemic against Judaism began with Paul of Tarsus and continues unabated to the present day. Many of the tracts produced over the centuries represent actual encounters between protagonists; however, the majority were written as theological exercises or belong to a more popular genre whose goal was to enlighten the faithful masses.

Of the latter, the theological exercises were more prevalent before the fall of the Byzantine Empire. This is not surprising since the official clergy was expected to support the state religion. The interesting point is that the polemics against the traditional enemies of the state, e.g., the Roman Catholics and Muslims, appear to be less intense than those against the traditional opponents of Orthodoxy, i.e., the Jews and Armenians. The whole question of Byzantine polemical literature might, in fact, be profitably re-examined against the background of contemporary propaganda concerns.¹

A qualitative shift may be evident in the literature after the conquest. In addition to a number of pseudepigrapha and outright forgeries that now must be ascribed to the post-Byzantine period,² several works are noted that suggest the continued use of older patterns but with different emphases. While the subject remains a dialogue with the Jews, the purpose of the dialogue appears less polemical than pedagogical and should be read against the background of the Greek Church in 'captivity.'

Two dialogues that illustrate this last point are: the purported dialogue between the Basileus John VIII and Xenos, and the dialogue attributed to Gennadios Scholarios entitled 'Refutation of the Jewish Error from the Scriptures and from Circumstances and from a comparison with the Christian Truth, in the form of a Dialogue.'³ Both are noteworthy for their non-polemical tone.

Midway in the reign of John VIII (1425 - 1448), there allegedly took place in Constantinople a debate between a Jew named Xenos, otherwise unknown, and the Basileus who was assisted by his monastic confessor Matthew. The passage occurs in the Annals

of George Phrantzes in the midst of a recital of the travels of the imperial family in wake of the retaking of Patras and, on the surface, should be ascribed to the period between 1437 and 1440.

It was shown by Loenertz, however, some years ago that the Annals of Phrantzes (Sphrantzes) were a composite of two chronicles, a short recital subsequently known as *chronicon minus* which was prepared by the historian-diplomat and a longer work, the *chronicon maius*, which Loenertz successfully identified as the work of Makarios Melissenos, who wrote his expanded chronicle at the end of the third quarter of the sixteenth century, interpolated into it the shorter work of Sphrantzes, and attributed the entire chronicle to the latter.⁴ In recent years a re-editing of both chronicles by Vasile Grecu has appeared which separates the later Ottoman material from the earlier Byzantine material.⁵ Scholars today generally accept the rule of thumb that anything which appears in the *chronicon maius* and not in the *chronicon minus* is to be attributed to Makarios Melissenos.

Returning to our dialogue between John and Xenos, we note that it appears only in the *chronicon maius*.⁶ Therefore we should ascribe this section to the period 1573 - 1575 in accordance with what has been said regarding the nature of this chronicle. Moreover, we may also say that in all likelihood this particular dialogue never took place between the Emperor and the Jew, even though some such discussion may have occupied the time of Melissenos who grew up in the proximity of Jewish communities.

Though a sixteenth century forgery, the dialogue follows the perennial pattern of this literature. Its purpose, however, is suggested in its introduction and conclusion:

However, about this time, there was a notable disputation between the Basileus Lord Joannes and a certain Hebrew named Xenon, who afterwards was reborn in holy baptism and renamed Emmanuel, which I will not fail to narrate.⁷

and ends with what Gibbon facetiously called the only "momentous conquest" of John's sad reign:⁸

Then on account of the splendor of the most Holy Spirit and the wise words of the autokrator and the holy monk Matthew, the Hebrew, being enlightened, plainly confessed to the Holy Trinity and all the dogma of the orthodox faith and was reborn in divine baptism and Xenos was renamed Emmanuel.⁹

The body of the debate revolves around the questions of the virgin-birth and messiahship of Jesus.¹⁰ The first question that Xenos asked the Basileus was "How was it possible for Mary to give birth to Christ while she was still a virgin?" The Basileus answered, in typical Jewish fashion, with a series of questions:

How did Adam give birth to Eve without a woman? and how did the earth put forth flowers without seeds? how did sheer rock bubble up water? how did the rod of Aaron sprout? how was manna sent down from Heaven? how did the bucket become full of wheaten flour? how did the olive oil of Elisha seep into the pots? how did the rod of Jesse sprout a bud? how did the fleece of Gideon waste away into dew? how did the bone of Samson produce water? how did the furnace preserve the children unburnt? how did the rock of Manoe burn without wood? how did the bramble bush near Moses burn yet was not consumed? how was Elias not consumed when he mounted the fiery chariot? how did Isaiah look upon the Lord when he was seated on his lofty and elevated throne? how did Daniel make clear the hidden dream of Nebuchadnezzar? how does the heaven support the stars without handling them? how does night produce day and be born again? how does the light of the sun light up the whole world? If you can explain these things to me which I ask you, I know that you can understand the giving-birth of the virgin. However, you are at a loss in these things and in those.¹¹

Having established the plausibility of the virgin-birth by this method, the Basileus was confronted with an interesting twist on the traditional charge of deicide.

The Hebrew asked again, 'if Christ died not under compulsion but willingly, as you yourself say, therefore he would be judged in all likelihood as a murderer of himself, and because of this deserve that his soul be punished.'

Xenos was accordingly chastized for this display of sophism.

The Basileus responded: 'there is a great difference, Xenon, between the two statements; but it is no wonder that along with much else you do not understand this. For he is rightly called a murderer of himself who applies a hand to his own life, not he who is unsparing of himself and undergoes death because

of his love for his beloved friends. Such a person is not a suicide but may be called, more suitably, a true friend, as one who gave himself up for those he loves, so as to save them, if possible, from the impending death. This is an act of love for man, and Christ should bear thanks rather than be subjected to such accusations.¹²

At this point the debate devolves into a semantic and philological analysis of the proof texts surrounding the twin theses of the virgin-birth and the meaning of the messiahship of Jesus. Further analysis of these texts would be interesting for the technique employed as compared with earlier polemics.¹³ As noted, the result was the conversion of the formerly skeptical Jew.

The message for the sixteenth century was clear: faith in the theological position of the church was necessary to overcome the problem of daily contact with a skeptical and intellectual Jewish community, one that now occupied a favored position under the Ottomans as opposed to a degraded one under the Byzantines. We may even suggest that the name *Xenos* or *Xenon* was not an accident, but rather reflected the sentiment that the Jews were unwelcome guests or foreigners in an occupied Christian land.

The dialogue, then, may be seen as a sixteenth-century lesson for the faithful in their attempt to justify the Orthodox position in the face of Muslim rule and a no longer disadvantaged Jewry. Harkening back to the period of Byzantine independence, the author seems to suggest that political freedom is not the optimum status for the individual but rather the conviction and confidence that his faith is the true faith.

The "Refutation of the Jewish Error" by Gennadios Scholarios, the first Patriarch of the Orthodox millet after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, is of interest to us because of its historical implications. Not only does it develop new dimensions to the traditional claim that the Christians represent the True Israel but it also indicates the process by which the political-theological structure of the Byzantine society adapted into the theological-political structure of the Orthodox millet during the Ottoman period.¹⁴

In particular these questions may be raised: to what extent did Byzantine savants, familiar with their own imperial history and with Israelite history, read the contemporary situation through biblical eyes? Given the nature of Byzantine civilization, i.e., of an ancient empire surviving into the medieval and early modern

world, from whence does the Byzantinist draw his object parallels? Is the Byzantinist as well as the Byzantine entitled to draw these parallels from biblical history to illuminate Byzantine history?¹⁵ Clearly ecclesiastic historians did so on occasion. May not the Byzantinist, then, find as appropriate examples from ancient Israelite and Jewish history as from contemporary medieval and early modern history?

The "Refutation" is dated 1464 in an autographed copy.¹⁶ In other words, it was written during the first decade after the Fall of Constantinople, more probably during Gennadios' forced retirement after 1459. At this point we may examine the situation that developed during this decade against the background of parallel Jewish phenomena.

As background we must first raise the questions: when Constantinople was conquered, what were the options available to the faithful to maintain their Orthodox character? Could the Church, as it existed prior to the Fall, provide a substitute for an independent political existence? In what ways could the individual Christian be aided to cope with the shock of defeat and occupation with their theological implications?

The Jews had already suffered and survived the same experience not once but twice during their long history. In 586 B.C. the Temple in Jerusalem was destroyed and the Jews exiled, at least the upper classes, while in A.D. 70 a worse fate occurred when the Second Temple was destroyed by the Romans and the people were exiled again. How did they survive? In the first instance a combination of two factors preserved the people. Both the ruling class, including a scion of the royal house, and the high priesthood were transplanted en masse to a new location where the conquerors fostered the establishment of a new society based upon the traditional laws of the people. The survival of a legitimate heir and a priesthood to anoint him is translated in Byzantine terms to the establishment of the Empire of Nicaea in the wake of the Fourth Crusade.¹⁷ In the latter case, of course, independence was maintained. In the former, we should emphasize, autonomy was sanctioned by the conquerors.

The experience of A.D. 70 was more parallel to the disaster of 1453. The former was theologically interpreted by the Christians as a punishment for the Jewish role in the crucifixion of Jesus. Regarding the latter, Gennadios, since 1443, was attributing the misfortunes of the Empire to the theological bankruptcy of the

Unionists and continued to fight them even during the siege. Gennadios could well see the Turks as the rod of God's chastisement.¹⁸

After 70 the Jews rallied in two ways: first they canonized their sacred literature which allowed those individuals who accepted this canon to continue to identify as Jews once the physical temple had disappeared. Secondly the rabbinic leadership, now sanctioned as the legitimate representatives by Rome, began to codify a commentary to the sacred scriptures. Moreover, the rabbis, with Roman sanction, established a bureaucracy which developed this *modus vivendi* for the Jews, who, in turn, were taxed for its support.

To return to the fifteenth century, we may note the parallel for the Orthodox community: the Basileus was dead; Hagia Sophia, the magnificent and visible center of Orthodox Christianity, was now a mosque; the enemy, the despised and feared heretics of Allah, were busy mopping up the last vestiges of resistance; nor was there any hope of an immediate reconquest by an allied Christian power. The attempt of Mehmet II to establish a puppet government with Lukas Notaras at its head was doomed to failure after the latter's refusal and subsequent execution. The common question therefore undoubtedly was, why not convert to Islam and enjoy the fruits of victory? What is the worth of remaining a defeated Christian? Undoubtedly many did convert; beyond a doubt many did not.¹⁹ It was for the latter that something had to be done and quickly, both from the perspective of the leadership of the conqueror and the conquered alike.

Mehmet II was busily engaged in the organization and rebuilding of his new capital. This involved establishing a *modus vivendi* with the conquered Byzantine population, so that his armies could be freed for continued conquest. After his failure with a secular government for the conquered, Mehmet turned to the church. He appointed Gennadios Scholarios, a monk whose religious and theological credentials were acceptable to those who remained Christian, as head of the entire conquered population. He was given new quarters and the support to establish a bureaucracy.²⁰ Several problems, however, shortly became apparent, i.e., the Jews and Armenians, neither of whom was content to chafe under the leadership of the Orthodox Church which was at best indifferent when not actively hostile to these two different ethnic groups with their own socio-religious identity. After some complicated ma-

neuvering, the Jews succeeded in the appointment of a haham basi for their group ca.1445, while the Armenians became autonomous with their Patriarch ca. 1461.²¹

Within a decade after the conquest, then, the millet system of the Ottoman sultanate was established. All of the Orthodox were subsequently subject to the authority of the Patriarch, whose control over his flock was backed by the army of the Sultan. Having established the framework, it now became incumbent upon the Patriarch to mold an identity and a way of life for the Orthodox so that Christian society would survive. Two law codes had been in use during the Palaeologue period. One, the *Hexabiblos* of George Harmenopoulos, was a handbook for judges of the imperial court system. After the fall of Constantinople, its influence was restricted in ecclesiastic circles until the eighteenth century, at which time it replaced the *Νομοκάνονον* of Michael Malaxos. In the nineteenth century, it was rediscovered by scholars and used to develop a code of laws for the newly established Kingdom of Greece.²² The other was the *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares, a compendium of imperial and ecclesiastical law and tradition arranged alphabetically for ease of reference. The *Syntagma* became one of the basic codes of Orthodox society throughout the Balkans (primarily in Serbia) during the Ottoman period,²³ while the commentaries and response written by Orthodox leaders parallel earlier and contemporary rabbinic reliance on the Talmud and codes of Jewish law. In other words, the Orthodox leaders, confronted by the same disaster that befell the Jews, independently (and there is no reason to suggest otherwise) developed the same solution to the survival of their community, i.e., the development of an oral application of a religious code of laws which controlled every aspect of an Orthodox individual's life. At the same time, the ultimate source for the authority of the Patriarch and his way of life was the legitimate recognition and support of his autonomy by the ruling Ottoman Sultan.

One point remains, and that is the question of identity. What Gennadios does in the section to be read below is to reinterpret the older Christian claim that Orthodoxy represents the new Israel, based on its ideological continuity with the biblical promises to the Jews as witnessed by its acceptance of the messiahship of Jesus, whose coming was foretold in the 'Old Testament.' However, rather than cursing the other claimants to the name of Israel, i.e., the Jews, Gennadios develops a theme which appeared

earlier in the fourteenth century and reflects an almost racial interpretation of the word 'Jew.' But let him here speak for himself:

- X: Do you wish to discuss with me about the points wherein Christians and Jews differ?
- J: Let us discuss, if it seems good to you, however, in the frankest manner; for we do not have enough time for a rational and formal enquiry, and also the subject matter necessitates more detailed reasoning from both sides, not only with regard to opinions but also works.
- X: Well said. Then let me ask you first if you are a Judaeen.
- J: Yes I am a Jew.
- X: You are not a Judaeen. For on the one hand the place of the Jews, Jerusalem, and the surrounding countryside, was formerly called Judaea; but now that place is no longer called Judaea nor are you from there, but rather as it were a Prusan or Ephesian or from Byzantium or Thessaly. For just as one born in Ephesos is not a Thessalian, so neither are you a Judaeen, having been born not in Judaea but in another land.
- J: This in no way prevents me from being a Jew; for I consider my genealogy from the race of Judaeans and not from the fact of birth in Judaea. But with regard to this I do not differ so much from you; I say I am a Jew, I maintain the ancestral faith and religious observances of the Jews and I live according to the Jewish laws and customs and I talk to God in the Jewish tongue.
- X: . . . How can you say justly that you are a Judaeen, since your ancestors were exiled from Judaea so many years ago in the last exile and perhaps even more in the earlier ones? . . . Being a Thessalian, I do not now disagree with being called a Byzantine, as long as neither in language nor in opinions or customs do Thessalians and Byzantines differ, as perhaps once long ago . . . I even know the Latin language; but I do not say that I am a Latin . . . moreover, being a Hellene in language, yet at no time do I appear as a Hellene because I do not think as Hellenes once thought; rather I would wish to be called a Hellene for my own reasons. And if anyone should ask me who I am, I would answer "I am a Christian," especially if you should ask me or anyone else

holds a different opinion than I concerning God.

At this point Gennadios moves into a frontal attack on the Jew and proves that he cannot call himself a Jew on the basis of his former argument:

You say therefore that you are a Jew because you are a follower of the prophet Moses . . . I will prove to you that you are not a Jew, for you are not a follower of Moses even if you think so . . . [to paraphrase the argument: anyone who is not faithful to the word of Moses is not a Jew: you do not accept the messiah whom the Lord prophesied through Moses; therefore, you are disobedient to the Holy Script and hence not a Jew.]

A century earlier the same theme was anticipated by another ecclesiastic. In the 1360's the Metropolitan of Nicaea, Theophanes III, produced his 'magnum opus,' an "Apology against the Jews." One of his major arguments, following a long Christian polemical tradition, was that modern Judaism, i.e., of the fourteenth century, was no longer related to ancient Judaism.²⁴ The theme, as we have said earlier, is not uncommon to Byzantine literature.²⁵

The works of Theophanes were known to Gennadios, who wrote a century later. In view of the Patriarch's emphasis on nationality, one may wonder whether his views were based on the theological training he had received regarding the identity of the True Israel, or whether they were aimed at his own flock still shaken by the loss of independence and prestige after 1453. The Patriarch's insistence on a clearer distinction between a *Iudaïos* born in Judaea and a *Iudaïos* by religion appears to be a reflection of both his own and his flock's disoriented state. Before 1453 Gennadios would not have hesitated to identify himself as a *Romaïos*, i.e., an Orthodox Christian citizen of the Roman Empire, whose capital was Constantinople. After 1453, however, Gennadios was a Christian subject of an Ottoman Empire and allowed only those privileges accorded a *zimmi*, i.e., a member of a protected religion. Therefore he had to redefine his own identity both for himself and for the Christians he led. For this reason he wavered between the designation "Hellene," i.e., non-Turkish speaking, and Christian, i.e., non-Muslim.²⁶

Extreme caution is dictated in the use of polemical literature for historical investigation, since the genre is beset with difficulties of a theological, psychological, and philological nature. The fore-

going discussion of two late Byzantine dialogues with Jews, however, attempted to suggest that this material can be of interest and value to the historian. The two dialogues were shown to be pedagogical exercises written after the Ottoman conquest whose primary purpose was to enlighten the faithful in their Christian faith and identity. By defining these two tracts as 'internal dialogue,' we may gain an insight into the Orthodox Church's perception of itself during a period of intense self-investigation. Also the paper suggested that the biblical tradition inherited by the Byzantines may be more valuable than previously considered in terms of examining not only the Byzantines' perception of themselves but also Byzantinists' perception of them.

NOTES

1. Just as Jews commented on the contemporary scene through veiled allusions in their biblical commentaries, so, it is likely, that Byzantine ecclesiastics used the biblical model. Similarly Byzantine scholars plumbed the classics as evidenced in the abstruse rhetorical style of the Palaeologue period.

2. For one example, cf. S.G. Mercati, "Il trattato i Giudei di Taddeo Pelusiota e una falsificazione di Costantino Paleocappa," *Bessarione*, 39 (1923), pp. 8-14.

3. The debate between John and Xenos is printed in George Phrantzes, *Annales* (Bonn, CSHB, 1838), pp. 163-76. For authorship see below, note 4. The tract of Gennadios is entitled: "Ἐλεγχος τῆς ἰουδαϊκῆς νῦν πλάνης ἐκ τε τῆς Γραφῆς καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν Χριστιανικὴν ἀλήθειαν παραθέσεως: ἐν σχήματι διαλόγου, and was edited by L. Petit et al., *Oeuvres complètes de George (Gennade) Scholarios*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1930), 251-314.

4. R.I. Loenertz, "Autour du Chronicon Maius attribué à George Phrantzes," *Miscellanea G. Mercati*, 3: *Letteratura e storia bizantina* (Studi e Testi, 123) (Vatican City, 1946), 273-311.

5. Georgios Sphrantzes, *Memorii 1407 - 1477 in annexa Pseudo-Phrantzes: Macarie Melissenos cronica 1258 - 1481* (Scriptores Byzantini, 5, Bucarest, 1966).

6. *Ibid.*, Pseudo-Phrantzes, *Cronica*, 2(12):306-18.

7. Phrantzes, *Annales*, p. 163.

8. The phrase is Edward Gibbon's, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J.B. Bury, (London, 1898), 7:99. Cf. Joshua Starr, *Romania: The Jewries of the Levant after the Fourth Crusade* (Paris, 1949), p. 28.

9. Phrantzes, *Annales*, p. 176.

10. These questions, in fact, clearly show the debate to be artificial since the question of the virgin-birth is not an essential problem in Judaism, while no Jew would have seriously dared to debate the latter before the ruler of the Byzantine state. The ninth-century debate between Shephatiah of Oria and Basil I centered about the comparison of Solomon's Temple to Hagia Sophia. As the source reflects the Hebrew side, Solomon won the laurels. Cf. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire* (Athens, 1939), p. 129. Also see below note 13.

The only text known to me written by a Jew in Greece answering the claim of virgin-birth is that of Abraham Roman, *Sela' ha-Mahlokoboth* (The Rock of Disputes) in *Milhamoth Hovah* (Constantinople, 1710). This tract has been ascribed to the early fifteenth century; it may very likely be a late seventeenth-century response to the first Greek book printed in Constantinople, Patriarch Cyril Lucaris' *Σύντομος πραγματεία κατὰ Ἰουδαίων* (1627). Cf. summary by Benjamin Braude, "A Greek Polemic of the Renaissance against the Jews," *Association for Jewish Studies Newsletter*, 16 (February, 1976), 12-13.

11. It was suggested that this recitation leads from the creation of Eve to the structure of the universe representing a progression from the mundane Jewish miracles to the cosmologic Christian ones. The author seems to be following a hierarchical pattern that may be traditional.

12. On this aspect in Byzantine tradition, cf. D.M. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, 1968), p. 11 and passim.

13. Cf. Zvi Ankori, "Chapters in the Messianic Teaching of Yehudah Hadassi the Haraite," *Tarbiz*, 30 (1961), 186-208 (in Hebrew).

14. On Gennadios, cf. A.E. Vacalopoulos, *The Greek Nation, 1453 - 1669* (Rutgers University Press, 1976), chapter 5. Also N.J. Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law in the Balkan Peninsula during Ottoman Rule* (Thessalonike, 1967).

15. These remarks were prompted by a paper read by John Teall at the Byzantine Studies Conference in Cleveland (24-25 October 1975) entitled "The Problem of Byzantine Decline: Towards a New Paradigm."

16. *Oeuvres*, 3:251.

17. The Despot of Epiros claimed the imperial title in 1225 shortly after the capture of Thessalonike. Cf. D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epirus* (Oxford, 1967), 65f.

18. Cf. Vacalopoulos, *The Greek Nation*, p. 103. Nor was he alone in this view, cf. Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 69ff.

19. On the problem of mass conversion, cf. Vacalopoulos, *The Greek Nation*, chapter 2.

20. Cf. Halil Inalcik, "The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 23-24 (1969 - 1970), 229-49.

21. The question of Jewish and Armenian autonomy will be discussed in my forthcoming study on the Jews in Palaeologian Byzantium. For the haham basi, cf. Bernard Lewis, "The Privilege Granted by Mehmed II to His Physician." BSOAS, 14 (1952), 550-63; S.W. Baron, *The Jewish Community: Its History and Structure to the American Revolution*, 1 (Philadelphia, 1948), 195ff. A revision of the current view was proposed by Benjamin Braude, "The Ottoman State and Non-Muslim Communities, 1500 - 1700: The Myth of the Jewish Millet," *AJS Newsletter*, no. 18 (September, 1976), pp. 11-12.

22. Pantazopoulos, *Church and Law*, pp. 45-47.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 49f.

24. The text is still unedited. Cf. Hans-Georg Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), pp. 746f.

25. Cf. Patriarch Athanasios, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, in a sermon cited by V. Laurent, *Les Actes des Patriarches*, 1, fasc. 4: *Les Regestes de 1208 à 1309* (Le Patriarcat Byzantin, Serie I, Paris, 1971), n. 1692, pp. 479-482. Also Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Epitome Logica* (MPG, 142:743).

26. Cf. remarks by Steven Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 22f.

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ZONARAS ECCLESIASTICUS: THREE SOURCE NOTES ON THE EPITOME HISTORiarum

The Byzantine chronographer John Zonaras was one of the most influential writers of secular and ecclesiastical history during the twelfth century.¹ His commentaries on the Canons of the first seven Ecumenical Synods are still considered to be basic by the Orthodox Church for the interpretation of Church doctrine in our own period.² His *Epitome Historiarum* is also of value for the study of both the secular and ecclesiastical history of the Byzantine Empire.³ The facts about Zonaras' private life are vague and have been the subject of some speculation.⁴

Although the chronographer's narrative is an important source for early ecclesiastical history, one has to use his account with care because his comments are not without their faults. Among these faults were Zonaras' excessive reliance on tradition and a tendency on the chronographer's part to accept particular sources as valid without any further research. I have selected three portions of his *Epitome* dealing with fourth-century ecclesiastical history which exhibit these faults.

Zonaras and the History of the Byzantine Patriarchate

In his discussions of the origins of the Byzantine Church, Zonaras indicates that the bishopric of Byzantium became subordinate to Heracleia, when Septimius Severus conquered the city in the late second century.⁵ The chronographer probably obtained this information from his own commentary on the Third Canon of the Council of Constantinople, where he said much the same thing.⁶

By the fourth century the position of the Byzantine episcopate had radically changed; the only evidence that Byzantium was still subordinate to Heracleia is that the bishop of the city was ordained by the head of the church of Heracleia.⁷ Zonaras turns from the state of the Byzantine Church under Severus to its status under Constantine I, noting that Constantine converted the Byzantine bishopric *εις τιμήν . . . πατριαρχικήν, τῇ πρεσβυτέρῳ Ῥώμῃ τὰ πρεσβεῖα τηρήσας διὰ τὴν πρεσβυγένειαν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν*

ἐκεῖθεν ἐνταῦθα μετενεχθῆναι . . .⁸ Similarities in language indicate that the chronographer derived information from the Third Canon of the Synod of Constantinople and the Twenty-Eighth Canon of the Synod of Chalcedon.⁹

His account contains two anachronisms: 1) the contention that Constantine made the bishopric of Constantinople a patriarchate, and 2) the statement that the seat of government was moved from Rome to Constantinople. The eastern city did not actually become a patriarchate until the Synod of Constantinople in A.D. 381, when the city's bishop began to use the ecclesiastical power inherent in being the religious leader of the eastern capital.¹⁰ Zonaras, however, inserted the clause τῇ πρεσβυτέρῳ Ῥώμῃ τὰ πρεσβεῖα τηρήσας in his narrative to protect himself from critics who would say that he overstated his case. In his commentary on the Third Canon, the chronographer clearly states that Constantinople came second in honor after Rome in the patriarchal ranks.¹¹ One can only speculate about Zonaras' reason for taking such a position. Perhaps the chronographer found the truth hard to accept and, for that reason, altered it to suit his own fancy.

Zonaras notes that Constantine I made Constantinople the "New" Rome and transferred the seat of government from Italy to the east; he maintains this position in his commentary on Canon Three.¹² This conception may have had its origins in the belief that many of the eastern city's political institutions duplicated those of the "Old" Rome.¹³ Senators of Constantinople were termed *clari*;¹⁴ Roman senators were denoted *clarissimi*.¹⁵ The governor of Rome was a *praefectus urbi*;¹⁶ the urban prefecture was not inaugurated at Constantinople until A.D. 359.¹⁷ Before this date Constantinople was merely another imperial residence.¹⁸

It is clear that Zonaras used ecclesiastical sources when he composed this section of his narrative; additionally he employed the historical tradition of the Byzantine Church. Although he properly went back to the Canons of the Synods of Constantinople and Chalcedon for information about the Byzantine Church's position in the general structure of the universal church, he can be faulted for his statements that Constantine made Constantinople the eastern capital and that the emperor transformed the see of Byzantium into a patriarchate. Both these statements have their roots in the propaganda that resulted from power struggle between Rome and Constantinople for control of the church.¹⁹ For this reason, the chronographer's statements are clearly self-serving.

Zonaras on Eusebios of Caesarea

At 13.4.8-17 Zonaras begins a long digression about the theological stance of Eusebios of Caesarea, one of the major participants in the Council of Nicaea.²⁰ This digression is the most extensive section in Chapter Four of Book 13 of the *Epitome*. The chronographer begins by noting that Eusebios adhered to Arios' opinions before the Council, but, afterward, joined the Orthodox bishops in supporting the dogma which the synod produced. Zonaras notes that Eusebios' position was actually unclear and seemed to be tainted with Arianism.²¹ He was correct, for Eusebios was a moderate at the council; his faction tried to conciliate the extreme positions taken by Arios and Alexander, Arios' bishop.²²

To back up his contention, Zonaras cites several passages from Eusebios' *Historia*.²³ Relying on these quotations, the chronographer argues that Eusebios was an Arian. The foundation of his argument crumbles upon close examination. All the passages that Zonaras cites are from Book One of the *Historia*. This portion of Eusebios' work was composed ca. 311.²⁴ At this date theological positions were still fluid and the beliefs of Eusebios were not heretical. Therefore, it is clear that the chronographer did not know when Eusebios wrote the *Historia*. Zonaras himself admits that Eusebios can be cleared of heresy if his work was compiled at some date before the synod.²⁵ The chronographer not only offers the two traditions about Eusebios' theological position, but he also attempts to evaluate them. His evaluation failed because he did not know the date of the *Historia*'s publication.

Zonaras on the Creed of Nicaea

After his digression on Eusebios of Caesarea,²⁶ Zonaras makes a few comments about the Nicene Creed.²⁷ He notes that the *symbolon*, issued by the Council, ended at the conclusion of the seventh article (*οὐ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος*) and that the Creed was completed in 381 by the Synod of Constantinople, which condemned the heresy of Macedonios.²⁸ The remarks of the chronographer are correct²⁹ and they also show the depth of his interest in the Creed's development; similar statements were made as early as the fifth century in a letter of Flavianus, Patriarch of Constantinople, to the Emperor Theodosios II³⁰ and in the minutes of the first session of the Synod of Chalcedon.³¹ It is not surprising that the chronographer should know this tradition, since he wrote extensive commentaries on the Canons of the Ecumenical Synods.

This portion of Zonaras' narrative shows how dependent he was on church tradition rather than upon the documents of the Synod of Nicaea. From his brief description, it is clear that Zonaras is describing the Constantinopolitan Creed issued in A.D. 381; this Creed seems to be the shorter declaration of faith which Epiphanius reproduced in his *Ancoratus*.³² The tone of the original Creed of Nicaea is different from that of the *symvolon* issued at Constantinople.³³ The Creed preserved in Epiphanius was a form of the revised declaration of faith used by the Church of Jerusalem.³⁴ Epiphanius notes that the Creed, adopted by the Synod of Constantinople, was in general use and that it had to be learned by all candidates for baptism.³⁵

Conclusion

All three of these passages show both the strengths and weaknesses of Zonaras as an ecclesiastical historian. In the case of his discussion of the early history of the Byzantine patriarchate (13.3.29ff) and the Creed of Nicaea (13.4.18-19), the chronographer's narrative clearly reveals that he had delved into the actual Canons of the early Ecumenical Synods and the theological controversies of the early fourth century.³⁶ Yet he was also bound by his own parochial vision of the Byzantine Church. He accepted pious church tradition that Constantine established the Patriarchate of Constantinople and that the text of the Creed of Nicaea used in his own time was the version set out by the First Ecumenical Synod. His most interesting comments are related to Eusebios' theological stance in A.D. 325; unfortunately he made no attempt to determine the date of publication of Eusebios' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, an oversight which destroys the validity of his own arguments. Like all scholars, Zonaras was bound by the limits of his own age; in fact, it should be stressed that the chronographer has done a commendable job dealing with the three problems discussed above. Although his research was sparse by modern standards, his narrative shows a depth of knowledge that, in my opinion, was not to be expected in the type of work which he was writing.

NOTES

*I wish to thank Professor Eugene N. Lane, of the University of Missouri, whose kind criticism of this article has helped minimize any errors that I have made.

1. Momigliano, *OCD*², S. V. "Zonaras," p. 1147; N. H. Baynes, and, H. St. L. B. Moss (ed.), *Byzantium: An Introduction to Eastern Roman Civilization* (Oxford, 1961), 235.

2. The text of the Canons and Zonaras' commentary on them are conveniently printed in *PG* 137.120ff.

3. The best edition of the *Epitome* is that edited in the Bonn Corpus by M. Pinder and T. Büttner-Wobst between 1841 and 1897; the edition edited by Dindorf that came out between 1868 and 1875 in the Teubner Series suffers from excessive attempts at correcting the text of the chronographer.

4. The chronographer was formerly a *δρουγγάριος τῆς βίβλας* at the imperial court before he became a monk (Zonar. [Bonn Ed.], 1.1 [P I 1A (Pinder's *apparatus criticus* thereon)]). For some reason he was forced to relinquish office and take holy orders. Although there has been much speculation about this incident (e.g., Ziegler, *RE* 10A, s.v. "Zonaras," col. 721.31ff), nothing conclusive is known about it. Zonaras' only reference to the event is too vague to provide any real information (1.1 [P I 1A2ff]). Time, in other words, has obliterated the details surrounding the exile of the chronographer.

5. 13.3.29.

6. In *Can. 3 Conc. CP 2*, *PG* 137.324Bff; this tradition is borne out by Gelasius I (492-496), who called the Byzantine Church the *paroeciae Heraclensis ecclesiae* (*Ep.* 13 *PL* 59, 65ff). Other evidence indicates that Christianity had influence in the city in the mid-second century. The evidence is discussed by A. Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig, 1902), 412, n.2, 269, 491, S. Vailhé, "Origines de l'église de Constantinople," *EO*, 10 (1907), 289, and Leclercq, *DACL*, 2.1, s.v. "Byzance," col. 1364ff.

7. Sozom., *Hist. Eccl.* 3.3.1ff; Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccl.* 9.10 (Bidez, 119); Zonar., *In Can. 3 CP II PG* 137, 324B 13ff.

8. 13.3.29b.

9. Synod of Constantinople (381), Canon 3 (Mansi, *Concilia*, 3.560); Synod of Chalcedon (451), Canon 28 (Mansi, *Concilia*, 7.369); for a detailed discussion of these Canons, see J. Meyendorff, "Roman Primacy up to the Council of Chalcedon," in *Orthodoxy and Catholicity* (New York, 1966), 49ff.

10. Dagron writes, "... peut-on dire que le concile oecuménique de 381 est premier pas vers l'institution du patriarcat byzantin ... la religion romaine de Pierre a été remplacée par la foi constantinienne de Nicée, et Constantinople s'est substituée au couple Rome-Alexandrie comme pôle de l'Eglise unifiée ... " (G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, [Paris, 1974], 454-55).

11. In *Can. 3 CP 2*, *PG* 137.324Cff.

12. *Ibid.*, 324Aff.

13. The political institutions of Constantinople are discussed by A. Alföldi, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome* (Oxford, 1969), 112ff, Dagron, 43ff, 20ff, 214ff, 226ff, L. Bréhier, "Constantine et la foundation de Constantinople," *RH*, 119 (1915), 252ff, A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire: 284-602, a Social and Economic Survey* (Norman, 1964), 1081, n. 13, J. Vogt, *RAC* 3, s.v. "Constantin der Grosse," col. 351, Benjamin, *RE* 4, s.v. "Constantinus (2)," col. 1021.62ff, J. H. Smith, *Constantine the Great* (New York, 1971), 221ff, and R. MacMullen, *Constantine* (New York, 1969), 154ff.

14. *Anon. Vales.*, 6.30.

15. Alföldi, 115.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Jones, 1081, n. 13.

18. *Ibid.*, 83.

19. For a general discussion of the power struggle between the Church of Rome and that of Constantinople, see F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, 1958), 39ff, 106ff, 223ff.

20. The life of Eusebios is discussed by Schwartz, *RE* 6, s.v. "Eusebius (24)," col. 1370ff, J. Quasten, *Patrology* (Utrecht, 1966), 3.309ff, K. Lake (ed.), *Eusebius' Ecclesi-*

astical History (London, 1926), 1.ixff, and H. A. Drake, "Semper Victor Eris: Evidence for the Policy and Belief of Constantine I Contained in Eusebius' Tricennial Oration," (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1970), 58ff.

21. 13.4.8-9.

22. B.J. Kidd, *A History of the Church to A.D. 461* (Oxford, 1922), 2.26ff; Drake, 82ff.

23. 13.4.10-11 (Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.* 1.2.5, 11); 13.4.12-14 (Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.* 1.2.14-15); 13.4.15 (Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.* 1.3.19). In Eusebios' defense it must be said that the majority of the quotations excerpted by Zonaras were biblical (Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.* 1.2.5 [*Psalms*, 32 (33): 9, 148:5], 1.2.11 [Paul, *I Cor.* 1:24], 1.2.15 [*Prov.* 8:22]). Only one citation seems to have an Arian taint (Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, 1.3.19); the last clause of the quotation indicates that the Word of God ought to be worshiped as if it were God, rather than as God, which was the position of the Orthodox.

24. E. Schwartz, *Eusebius' Kirchengeschichte* (Leipzig, 1909), GSC, 9³, xlviff; H.J. Lawler, *Eusebiana: Essays on the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius* (New York, 1912), 243ff.

25. 13.4.16.

26. 13.4.8-17.

27. 13.4.18ff.

28. 13.4.18-19.

29. Rev. E. Lionikis (ed.), *The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Mt. Prospect, 1975), p. 27.

30. *Ep.* 3 PG 65, 891A.

31. Mansi, *Concilia*, 6.937A.

32. 119 PG 43, 232.

33. *Ap.* Theodoret., *Hist. Eccl.*, 1.12.2ff; for a brief, but informative discussion of the changes made in the Creed of Nicaea by the Constantinopolitan Synod, see Kidd, 2.31-2.

34. Kidd, 2.286; for a detailed discussion of the Creed preserved in Epiphanius, see J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (London, 1950), 318ff, 335ff.

35. *Anc.* 118 PG 43, 232Bff.

36. It is interesting to note that Zonaras even attempts to determine the origins of the Arian heresy. He was of the opinion that Arius derived his point of view from the theological thought of Origen (13.4.2-3). Paul of Samosata and Lucian of Antioch are also candidates for this dubious honor. Alexander, Arius' bishop, ascribes the heresy to them (see Theodoret., *Hist. Eccl.*, 1.4.9). Obviously, Arius' religious beliefs had their roots in the theological systems of all three churchmen. Zonaras deserves credit for concluding that Origen was the source of Arius' theological system; his conclusion demonstrates knowledge of patristics and theology.

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